THE

HISTORY

OF

MANCHESTER.

IN FOUR BOOKS.

BY

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CHAP. IX.

THE COINAGE OF THE BRITONS BEFORE AND AFTER THE COMING OF THE ROMANS—THE STATE OF THE MECHANICAL ARTS AMONG THEM—THE FURNITURE &c. OF THEIR HOUSES—THEIR PLANTS, FLOWERS, AND DOMESTICK ANIMALS.

I.

THE whole commerce of the Belgick and interiour Britons was carried on without the assistance of money, and in the course of a regular exchange. Such appears to have been the first trade of the island, that which the Phœnicians opened with the south-western extremities of it [1]. Such was also the much recenter traffick, which was prosecuted with so uncommon a vigour, and diffused to so great

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great an extent, during the reigns of Auguſtus and Tiberius [2]. And in the ſame manner therefore was the commerce conducted betwixt the Belgick and Aboriginal Britons. Hence neither of them poſſeſſed any minted money, at the period of Cæſar's deſcent on the iſland. And their attempts at a coinage had then riſen no higher than to pieces of braſs and iron bullion, unſhaped, unſtamped, and rated by the weight [3]. But, during the extended ſtate of the trade in the reigns of Tiberius and Auguſtus, the advantages of a coinage would appear very conſiderable abroad, and the facility of engaging artiſts be a ſtrong inducement to begin it at home. A mint-maſter was invited over from the continent. He brought all his implements with him; and a mint, the firſt that ever appeared in the iſland, was erected in the ſouth. And Cunobeline, the ſucceſſor of the famous Caſſivelaun in the government of the Caſſii, and now equally the ſovereign of them and the Trinovantes, was the firſt monarch in Britain that coined money [4].

The firſt mint was pretty certainly up, one was actually erected, at his royal city of Camulodunum or Colcheſter. And about twenty pieces, the production of ſo many different coinages, have deſcended to us, bearing the appellation of the town upon them [5]. The inſtruments uſed in the work appear to have been the ſame, as continued among us nearly to the preſent period; the round piece of metal being ſtamped with the ſtroke of an hammer above, and at the ſame time receiving another impreſſion from a die below [6]. And the metals were generally gold, ſilver, and braſs [7]. Mines both

Quarto, P. 285.

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of ſilver and gold were worked in the iſland, during the reigns of Auguſtus and Trajan [8]. A gold mine was diſcovered a few years ago at Ampthill in the county of Bedford, and within the territories of Cunobeline [9]. And the Britiſh mint adopted at once all that variety of metals in its coins, to which the Romans were ſeveral ages in aſcending. All the money of the Roman ſtate was braſs for nearly three hundred years together, the coinage in ſilver commencing only five before the firſt Punick war, and that of gold not ſucceeding till more than ſixty afterwards [10]. And about fifty of Cunobeline's coins, impreſſed with his own name in part or in whole, have come down to the preſent age [11]. Some of them exhibit a plane ſurface, but moſt a ſmall convexity [12]. And few carry a fine texture in their compoſition, the metals being too much debaſed with foreign mixtures [12].

That the art of minting was thus introduced into the iſland from the Roman continent, is manifeſt from the inſcriptions and faces of theſe coins. The devices are many of them Roman, januſes, ſphinxes, centaurs, pegaſuſes, and laurel-wreaths. The letters upon them are all derived from the Roman alphabet. And, what ſuperſedes all further argument, ſome of the inſcriptions are even written in the Roman language [13]. And that the art was brought in by Cunobeline, we have every reaſon to ſuppoſe, as it was brought after the invaſion of Cæſar, as Cunobeline lived in the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula [14], and he is the earlieſt monarch of the Britons whoſe coins we have diſcovered. It was introduced before the death of

Sect. I. Cunobeline, and the ſurrender of Camulodunum to the Romans. The capital was taken in the autumn of 43; and the king was dead before [15]. And, had Cunobe-
P. 286. line ſurvived the ſubjection of his kingdom, he could not have retained the power of the mint; that liberty being taken away by the Romans, the right of coining being exerciſed only by themſelves, and the money all inſcribed with the names of the emperors [16].

But the mint at Camulodunum was not the only one which Cunobeline erected. He ſet up two others in two other towns of his dominions, at Verulam and London. And we have four of the former mint, and ſix of the latter, that have been ſafely tranſmitted to us [17]. Caractacus, or (as he is more properly called by Richard, a Britiſh coin [18], and the Triades) Charaticus, Caratacus, and Caradauc, ſo deſervedly famous afterwards for his gallant oppoſition to the Roman army, and his more gallant behaviour to the victorious emperor, one of the ſons of Cunobeline, and his ſucceſſor in the ſovereignty of the Caſſii and Trinovantes, adopted the ſame ſcheme, and equally minted money. But in all probability he worked off only a few pieces, his kingdom being ſoon reduced by the Romans, and himſelf taking refuge with the Silures and Brigantes. And we have only four of his coins at preſent [18].

But the art could not long remain confined within the precincts of the Caſſii and Trinovantes. And many coins, which have been diſcovered in the iſland, evince that it did not. Theſe carry no appearances upon them, that can induce us to attribute them to any but the primæval Britons. And they bear a remark-

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able and ſtriking ſimilarity to the money of Cunobeline. Sect. I.
The wheel, the horſe, the creſcent, and the boar, ſo frequently the devices upon the latter, appear as frequently on the former [19]. Even the word Taſcia, which occurs ſo often on the coins of Cunobeline, appears equally inſcribed upon ſome of theſe [20]. And, as many of them have been found in the midſt of Britiſh monuments [21], ſo ſeveral even exhibit the Britiſh chariot upon them [22]. Being diſcovered within the iſland, and bearing in their appearances no relation to any other country, the ſuggeſtions of good-ſenſe and the proprieties of reaſoning would have obliged us to refer them to the Britiſh coinage. But diſcovered in the P. 287.
country, carrying every appearance of relation to it in their aſpect, found even among monuments indubitably Britiſh, and preſenting even the indubitable ſymbols of a Britiſh mint, it would be a ridiculous ſqueamiſhneſs to heſitate about their original [23].

The art of coining, thus introduced by Cunobeline and purſued by Caractacus, would firſt have travelled in all probability, whither it would moſt eaſily be carried, into the country of the Dobuni or Boduni, and the kingdom of Togodumnus, the ſon of the one and brother of the other [24]. But the Caſſii, the maſters of the Dobuni, appear to have minted for them. This is evident from á remarkable coin, which preſents us with an head on one ſide and an horſe on the other, and bears inſcribed the name of the people, BODO, and the appellation of their and the Caſſian metropolis, CAM or Camulodunum. And we have five others of the Dobunian coins, all, as we muſt preſume from this, equally

Sect. I. minted at Colcheſter, and exhibiting upon them only the name of the nation or the denominations of their monarchs [24]. The art, therefore, was firſt taken from the Caſſii probably by their immediate neighbours, the Iceni; and we have ſeven or eight of their coins at preſent [25]. And it was afterwards extended gradually through the iſland, being practiſed by the Attrebates, and at their capital Calleda, Calleva, or Wallingford; by Comus and Calle, the ſovereigns of two other principalities; by the Segontiaci of Hampſhire and Berkſhire; by the Durotriges of Dorſetſhire, and at their metropolis Durnum or Durnacum, the Durinum of Richard, the Durnovaria of Antoninus, and the preſent Dorcheſter, in the weſt; and at Eburo, Ebur-ac, or York, and Eiſu, the Iſu Brigantum of Antoninus, or Aldborough, in the north [26].

Thus was the kingdom of Lancaſhire firſt provided with a regular coinage. But it was only a few years before the period of the Roman invaſion. And the art had not opportunity to exert itſelf ſufficiently in Lancaſhire, before the coming of the Romans ſuperſeded the neceſſity of it. At that period, therefore, the quantity of money within the county was probably inſignificant; and none of it is known to have reached the preſent age, except the following pieces may ſeem to carry the name of Mancenion upon them, and to prove the eſtabliſhment of a Britiſh mint at Manchester as well as York [27];

but it muſt have been nearly the ſame in the metals, the deſign, and the execution, as the coins of the Britons in general and of the Brigantes in particular. And the metals of all were generally gold, ſilver, or braſs, ſometimes amber, and ſometimes iron [28]. In ſome, the gold was even minted without any allay. In moſt, the gold and ſilver were conſiderably debaſed [28]. The minting is frequently rude, the firſt efforts of the Britiſh coiners being as devoid of propriety as they were uninformed by experience. And it is as frequently graceful, the art naturally refining as it proceeded, and at laſt catching all the ſpirit and elegance of the coins of Cunobeline [29].

But there is one particular in theſe monies of the Britons, which has now for two centuries puzzled all our criticks, and loudly calls for ſome probable explanation. And that is the word TASC, which appears inſcribed

Sect. 1. upon ſeveral of them and eſpecially upon thoſe of Cunobeline Camden, as T and old Engliſh, a original deſignation the tribute impoſed opinion has been a antiquarians ſince, and profuſion of lea greatly erroneous ns. As only ſome letters TASC, t part of the whole regular and current money of the nation. And, had even theſe been intended for the diſcharge of the Roman tribute, they would have been principally found, not in the iſland where they were minted, but on the continent whither they were ſent, and where, however, not one of them is known to have been diſcovered. And, what winds up the argument at once, a writer who was cotemporary with Cunobeline or a little before him, Strabo, repeatedly aſſures us, that in his time the Britons paid no tribute at all to the Romans [31]. TASC therefore cannot ſtand as the mark of a payment that was not diſcharged. And we muſt look out for ſome other interpretation of the letters.

The only others are the ſuppoſitions of Mr. Wiſe and Mr. Pegge. The former would refer the words, without argument and without authority, to a nation at the other extremity of Gaul that was called by a ſomewhat ſimilar appellation [32]. And ſuch an ungrounded and fantaſtical

taſtical hypotheſis is not worthy a ſerious refutation. It falls from its own airineſs of nature, and is directly contradicted by the fact that I have alledged before, the diſcovery of the coins in Britain only. But the latter has advanced a ſuppoſition much more rational and manly, that the word is the perſonal or national name of the Roman-Gallick mint-maſter whom Cunobeline invited into Britain [33]. And I adopted the opinion in my firſt edition. Taſcaire in Celtick ſignifies a tributary or ſervant. It might eaſily, therefore, become an appropriate appellation. And the ſame principle, which ſtamped the figure of a mintmaſter upon three of the coins, would as readily inſcribe his name upon them or others. Theſe reaſons, and the want of a more probable hypotheſis, induced me to follow Mr. Pegge in his opinion upon this ſubject. But I have ſince ſeen reaſon to change my ſentiments. The word occurs too often on the coins, to be merely the name of a minter. His perſon is exhibited only upon three of them: but the name appears upon no leſs than twenty-two out of the thirty-nine in Mr. Pegge's tables. And it equally appears upon ten others in Dr. Stukeley's collection [34]. This is evidently too much for a mere mint-maſter, however honoured. And it even occurs in ſome forms that cannot agree with the idea of a coiner. Thus in Mr. Pegge's and Dr. Stukeley's plates we have TASC NO, TASC NOVA, TASC NOVANE, and TASC NOVANIT [35]. And in the latter we have TASC RICO [36]. Here the word is found aſſociated with others that cannot with any propriety be applied to the minter. And ſome meaning muſt be ſought, that will agree with the uſe of it both

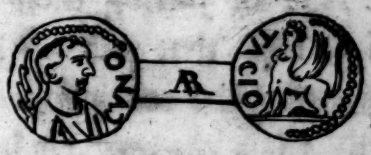
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as

Sect. I. as it ſtands ſingly by itſelf, and as it is found confederated with theſe. And ſuch a meaning, I think, I have diſcovered.

The word is written differently TASC, TASCI, TASCE, TASCIE, TASCIO, and TASCIA [37]. And it is nothing more, I apprehend, than the Britiſh and official appellation of the king whoſe coins exhibit the inſcription, and ſignifies only the Leader. Tus, Tuis, Tos, and Toſhich mean the beginning or head of any thing in the Iriſh language at preſent [38]. And hence Tuis imports a nobleman, and Toſhich the leader of an army; as Macintoſh, the family name of a clan in the Highlands, and denominated Mac-in-toſhich in the Erſe, ſignifies the ſon of a general [39]. Thus Toſhich became an honorary title among the highlanders of the middle ages [40]. And Tuiſeach and Taoiſeach are the Iriſh appellatives for a commander at this day. The latter I imagine to be the Taſc of the coins, as the Iriſh Gaoidhilge is the word Gathelic, and as Wallic is pronounced Welch. So we have Taſg-etius and Mori-Taſgus cotemporary with Cæſar in Gaul, two perſonages whoſe anceſtors had obtained the ſovereignty of their reſpective ſtates, and who were themſelves raiſed to the throne of their fathers [41]. And, in this acceptation of the word, I believe, every thing will be found coincident and proper. There is a remarkable variation in writing the word, that has not been noticed by any of the criticks. It was particularly overlooked, with a ſtrange equipoiſe of inattention, by Dr. Pettingall, who firſt engraved it from Mr. Duane's collection, and with one of whoſe opinions it directly agreed, and by his anta-

goniſt Mr. Pegge, who re-engraved it from Dr. Pettingall's table, and objected the want of ſuch a witneſs to the Doctor [42]. And it ſtrongly favours the whole of my notion. The word, that is written upon all the other coins TASC or TASCIO, is inſcribed upon this TACIO [43]. Sect. I.



Thus the Welſh Tuyſog, the ſame with the Scotch Toſhich and the Iriſh Taoiſeag, is ſometimes altered even now into Dŷg, and was formerly changed into Tog, in the TOGU of one of theſe coins and the Togudumnus of Dio. And, as Dr. Pettingall has fully ſhewn, Tac or Tag ſignified a leader among the Britons, as in Taxi-magulus, Praſu-Tag-us, and Carac-Tacus [44]. Both theſe forms of the word, therefore, coincide exactly with my interpretation of it. And, Taſcio anſwering to the Rex of the Latin inſcriptions and the Togu of the Britiſh, Cunobeline Taſcio, Cuno Tacio, and Cearatic Taſcie, upon ſome coins, will be the ſame as Cunobelinus Rex and Cunob Rex upon others [45]. Thus Taſc is frequently the only inſcription upon the coins, and is actually inſcribed upon both ſides of one of them [46]. Thus Taſc Novanit and Taſc Ver ſignify the King of Verulam and London, the two capitals of the Caſſii and Trinovantes. And we have Cunobelinus Rex upon the face of one coin and Taſc on the reverſe, and Taſc Rico or King Commandant upon another; both

Sect. I. both inſcriptions aſſerting only the monarchical authority of Cunobeline over his ſubject ſtates [47].

In this view of the word TASCIA, I think, all the difficulties that have hitherto attended the ſubject are reſolved and removed. We do not embrace the ſtrange incongruous idea of a nation taught to coin money, merely for the ſake of paying their tribute in it; remitting it in a coinage that was too inelegant and barbarous to circulate on the continent, and could only be melted down by their maſters; minting it merely for exportation into Italy, and yet frequently marking it with Britiſh terms that were unintelligible there; and ſending it for the diſcharge of a tribute, that appears not to have been paid at the time. We do not take up the wild and fantaſtical hypotheſis, that the pieces were not the coins of our iſlanders, when they are found only in the iſland; and that they were minted by a nation on the continent, when they actually bear the names of Britiſh ſovereigns upon them. And we do not acquieſce with the notion of their being ſo frequently inſcribed with the appellation of a minter, that has no exiſtence but in the viſions of conjecture; and of his arrogating to himſelf an equality with his king upon the coins, aſſuming the ſovereignty of his ſtates, and even parading with the expreſs appellation of Monarch. We take the word in its obvious and natural ſignification. And we apply it, as we find it applied by the Celtæ of Gaul about the ſame period, and as it has been applied by thoſe of Britain for ages. It is referred directly to the king, with whom it is immediately connected. And it is what one would naturally expect upon a Britiſh coin, a Britiſh appellative of royalty.

Such,

Such, then, was the coinage of the Britons before the coming of the Romans. On their arrival the mints of the iſland were ſtopt. But the Romans became coiners for the Britons. No leſs than eleven mints in all probability, and perhaps more, were eſtabliſhed within the pale of their own government, two in the two municipia, nine in the nine colonies, and ſome in the legionary ſtations. And coins minted at Cheſter, London, and York, at Richborough, Colcheſter, Lincoln, Verulam, and Glouceſter, and at Conovium perhaps, the ſtationary head-quarters of the tenth Antonian legion, have been ſafely tranſmitted to the preſent days [48]. Cheſter from one ſide, and York from the other, diffuſed their minted wealth over Lancaſhire. And the Britiſh chiefs in general appear to have had conſiderable riches among them. Thus Cæſar is ſaid to have acquired a large booty in his two deſcents on the iſland [49]. Praſutagus, the king of the Iceni, died poſſeſſed of very great wealth [50]. And to a few ſtates in the ſouth, and within a few years after their firſt ſubjection, the philoſophical Seneca lent more than four hundred and eighty thouſand pounds of our money, upon good ſecurity and exorbitant intereſt [51]. The Roman coins that circulated in the iſland ſeem to have been generally wrought within it, as the number of mints ſuggeſts. And they were current in great plenty among the Britons, as the incredible quantities that have been diſcovered in the country very clearly demonſtrate. They did not circulate merely among the ſoldiers and traders of the Romans. They were current among the Britiſh chiefs and Britiſh villains. And hence ſuch

Sect. I. P. 288.

Sect. I. numbers of them have been formerly found, and are now frequently picked up, in every quarter of the iſland; and have particularly riſen, and are daily riſing, to light, from the ſite and vicinity of almoſt every ſtationary town in the kingdom [52].

[1] Strabo p. 265.—[2] Ibid. p. 306.—[3] Cæſar p. 88. See Pegge's Coins of Cunobeline p. 35. And the Romans uſed only pieces of unſtamped braſs to the days of Servius Tullius, Pliny lib. 33. c. 3.—[4] The tenour of the hiſtory in Dio p. 957—959 plainly ſhews Cunobeline to have been king of the Caſſii as well as Trino-
P. 289. vantes. On Plautius's invaſion of the country of the former, in that part which was inhabited by their ſubjects the Dobuni, he was met by Caractacus and Togodumnus. Both were ſucceſſively defeated. The one was killed, and the other retired. The Dobuni then ſubmitted. And Plautius followed up his ſucceſſes to Camulodunum the capital.—[5] Dio p. 959, Pegge's claſs 2, Dr. Stukeley's twenty-three plates of Britiſh coins, 1771, 6—6, 6—10, 8—4, 8—8, 9—4, 10—1, and Camden's 1—24.—[6] Pegge p. 69.—[7] Pegge's Plates.—[8] Strabo p. 305, and Agric. Vit. c. 12.—[9] Camden c. 340.—[10] Pliny lib. 33. c. 3.—[11] Pegge's and Stukeley's plates.—[12] Mr. Pegge p. 9.—[13] P. 42 to 49. And ſee Stukeley's plates 2—7, 13—1, a ſphinx, 9—1, and 9—2, a centaur, &c. And to the Roman inſcriptions in Mr. Pegge we may add 9—4 and 12—2 in Stukeley.—[14] Suetonius's Caligula c. 44.—[15] Dio p. 957, and Carte p. 101. vol. I.—[16] Gildas's Hiſt. c. 5.—[17] Pegge 4—1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, and 5—1. The

new

new mint-town, as it ſeems in Mr. Pegge, 2—5, is produced only by a miſtake in copying the inſcription (ſee Camden 2—12), the name being only Camu in the original, which is Dr. Stukeley's 19—2.—Compare alſo Mr. Pegge 4—4 with Dr. Stukeley 14—8. And ſee Dr. Stukeley 4—2, 4—3, 4—10, and Mr. Pegge 4, and 6—1, for Verulam and London.—[18] Stukeley 12—2, 12—3, and 12—4, and Pegge 6—2.—[19] Camden's Coins, 1—8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 25, 26, 31, 32, 33, 2—8, 10, 31, and 32, and Borlaſe's Coins N° 5, 13—21, and 22.—[20] Pegge p. 21 and claſs 5, and Thoreſby's Leeds p. 338. N° 10.—[21] Borlaſe's Cornwall p. 258 and 116.—[22] Borlaſe N° 22, and Camden 2—30.—[23] How miſtaken therefore are Meſſieurs Pegge and Wiſe! The former is willing to reject all but the coins of Cunobeline. And the latter is deſirous to reject both.—[24] Dio p. 957, Camden 1—8, Stukeley 11—9, 20—10, 18—2, 11—1, 11—2, and 11—6, and Pegge p. 59 for Beric.—[25] Stukeley 3—3, 15—6, 16—10, and 17—5, for Iceni or Cenomes; 11—7 for Praſutagus probably; and 11—10 for Boadicia.—[26] Stukeley 3—1 for Atrebates, and Camden 1—26 for Caleda (Calleda or Calleva, as Cantrev and Cantred); Camden 1—10 for Comus, and 1—11 for Calle; Stukeley 12—10 and 13—2, for Segontiaci; Stukeley 3—2, and Camden 2—8, for Durotriges, and Camden 1—15 for Durnacum, and 2—10 for Durnum; Camden 1—31 for Eburacum, and col. cxii. for Iſurium. As it was very inaccurate in Mr. Speed and Dr. Borlaſe to ſuppoſe Comus to be the king of the Britiſh Attrebates, when Cæſar plainly declares him to

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have

Sect. I. have been the ſovereign of the Gallick; ſo was it equally unwary in Mr. Pegge to conclude, that, becauſe the Comus of Cæſar was a Gallick prince, therefore that of the coins could not be a Britiſh one (p. 38). The latter was a diſtinct perſon from the former. And from the addition of RE upon the coins he appears to have been a Britiſh king.—And ſee another great miſtake in Mr. Pegge p. 21, who rejects all the coins of Praſutagus, Togodumnus, and Caractacus, becauſe the Britiſh kings minted no monies under the Romans. The latter may be true, and the former not be falſe. Theſe princes might coin money before the Romans
P. 290. ſubdued their kingdoms.—[27] Stukeley 3—9 and 3—8. And Man, a place, in Man-cenion, is written to this day, as in one of theſe coins, with a double N both in the Welſh and Iriſh—.[28] Pegge p. 84 and Thoresby's Leeds p. 337, Borlaſe p. 250 and Camden c. cxiv. Gibſon.—[29] Camden 1—6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 25, 31, and others. Perhaps Orceti on Camden's coin, 1—15, is ſome town in Caledonia, of which we have never received the name; as in Dio we have a Caledonian Prince called Argetocoxus, literally king of Argeto or Orceti.—[30] Camden cix. Gibſon, and Dr. Pettingall's Diſſert. Quarto, 1763, p. 7.—[31] P. 306—307.—[32] Nummi Bodleiani, p. 226—227—[33] Pegge p. 54—55—[34] See 4—10, 5—5, 6—8, 7—2, 9—1, 9—6, 13—5, 15—9, 20—8, and 21—7 of Stukeley.—[35] Pegge 4—C, 4—5, 4—1, 4—2, and Stukeley 6—4, and 5—4.—[36] Stukeley 15—9.—[37] Pegge 3—5 and 4—1, and Stukeley 5—5, Taſc; Pegge 3—2 and 6—2, Taſce and Taſcie; Stukeley 13—5, Taſci; Pegge 5—1, 6—1, and Stukeley 4—10,

4—10, &c. Taſcia; Pegge 3—1, &c., and Stukeley 7—2, &c. for Taſcio.—[38] Crit. Diſſ. p. 184.—[39] Ibid. p. 185—186.—[40] Ibid. p. 184.—[41] Cæſar p. 94 and 108.—[42] For Pegge ſee p. 22—23. And, what adds to the ſtrangeneſs, it hath alſo been a third time overlooked by Dr. Henry in his Hiſtory of Great Britain, 1771, vol. I. p. 406, who even recites the legend, and gives it Taſcio, though his own repreſentation of the coin exhibits it rightly TACIO.——[43] Pegge 3—7. [44] P. 1—2.—[45] Pegge 3—5, and Stukeley 14—7 and 9—4.—[46] Pegge claſs 5, and 5—5.—[47] Pegge 3—5, and Stukeley 14—7 and 15—9.—[48] See Camden c. 671, 374, and 877 for London, Cheſter, and York; Stukeley's Carauſius vol. I. p. 66 &c. for Richborough, p. 96 for Colcheſter, p. 276 and 277 for Lincoln, p. 253 for Claudia or Glouceſter, and pl. 12. N° 1. for Verulam; and Gale's Antoninus p. 122, for Conovium. —[49] Strabo, p. 306.—[50] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 31. —[51] Dio p. 1003. Sect. I.

[52] I am ſorry to obſerve, that Mr. Pegge has ſullied his very uſeful treatiſe on the coins of Cunobeline with a rude ſtricture on the late Dr. Stukeley. "I am ſen-"ſible," he ſays, "the Dr. has his admirers; but I muſt "confeſs I am not one of the number, as *not being fond* "*of wildneſs and enthuſiaſm upon any ſubject.*"—(P. 106). Let the wildneſſes of Dr. Stukeley be all corrected. They ought to be. But let not his character be thus held up to the publick, as the mere fantaſtical enthuſiaſt of antiquities. This juſtice, gratitude, and politeneſs equally concur to forbid. His ſtrong intellect, his enterprizing ſpirit, and his extenſive learning muſt ever be remembered with reſpect and reverence. And even

Sect II. his extravagances, great as they are, ſhould be conſidered as the occaſionally wild colouring of that ray of genius, which has not yet been too frequently the portion of our Engliſh antiquarians, and generally ſeduces the mind into extravagances while it raiſes it to excellences.

II.

THE primæval Britons of Lancaſhire and the reſt of the iſland, whatever hiſtory has aſſerted or antiquarianiſm believed of both, were not unacquainted with the mechanical arts in general. Of this their ability to conſtruct the military chariots of their country is a ſufficient indication in itſelf. And the ingeniouſneſs of contrivance and neatneſs of execution, in theſe carriages, proves them even to have been intimately converſant with ſome of the beſt principles of mechanicks. Their cars were admired by the Romans, adopted by individuals for their journeys, and introduced by the publick into their races [1]. And we have the picture of one of them ſketched out by a Britiſh hand, and engraved upon a Britiſh
P. 291. coin [2]. There we ſee the charioteer mounted on his carriage before us, a quiver of arrows peeping over his left ſhoulder, and a ſpear protended from his left hand; his feet reſting upon the pole or a foot-board annexed to it, and his body leaning over the horſes in the act of accelerating their motion. And we have the deſcription of another in Oſſian, which is equally authentick, very ſimilar in one or two particulars, and more circumſtantial [3]. It is the car of a Britiſh monarch, bending behind,

hind, drawn by a pair of horſes, and emboſſed with ſparkling ſtones. Its beam is of the poliſhed yew, its ſeat of the ſmootheſt bone, and the ſides of it are repleniſhed with ſpears. And the bottom is the footſtool of the chief, as bending forward he brandiſhes the ſpear. Sect. II.

The Britons alſo underſtood the art, and practiſed the labours, of the pottery. And many of their earthen veſſels have deſcended to us, by the only way in which they could have deſcended, or have been aſcertained to them if they had. They have been diſcovered in the ſepulchers of the Britons on Saliſbury plain, in Cornwall, and in Ireland [4]. They were ſome of them rudely wrought, and others pretty neatly faſhioned. They were generally ornamented with little moldings and circular channels about the brim. And all but one had been burned in a kiln or furnace. This would naturally be one of the earlieſt arts upon which the underſtanding exerted its faculties, when it firſt began to attend to a better proviſion for domeſtick occaſions, and the more agreeable accommodation of domeſtick life. In all probability, therefore, it was imported into the iſland with the firſt coloniſts of the country. And the Britons gradually improved it afterwards, forming the perhaps ſhapeleſs veſſel of their fathers in a regular mold, ſtrengthening their unbaked clay by the heat of a ſtove, and even enlivening their plain workmanſhip with ſome little decorations. But the progreſs of the art here was very unequal to its refinements on the continent. Shells were the only drinking-veſſels of the Britons, and are even uſed by the Highlanders at pre-

Sect. II. P. 292. ſent [5]. The Britons of the weſt, who had carried on a long and cloſe correſpondence with the continent, and muſt have been acquainted, if any were, with the continental improvements in the art, were therefore fond of the foreign ware, and gave it a good vent in their country [6]. But the arrival of the Romans introduced all the refinements of Campania, and a pottery was naturally erected at every ſtationary town in the kingdom. And our own at Mancheſter, which was moſt probably ſettled within the projection of the river-bank in Caſtle-field, and on the ſouth-weſtern part of it, and might be ſupplied, I believe, with proper clays from many places in the pariſh, ſeems clearly from thoſe ſpecimens of its ſkill that I have mentioned in the former part of the work, and particularly from the coral-coloured urn at Worſley, to have been a very conſiderable one, and to have had excellent artiſts engaged in it. And here, under the direction of Roman or Roman-Friſian maſters, the Mancunians learnt to model their veſſels with a lathe, to give them a glazing, and embelliſh them with carvings and figures. Of theſe maſters we know the appellations of four. The ADVOCISI of the Worſley urn is plainly the romanized name of a foreigner, and in all probability of ſome Friſian maſter-potter to the Friſian garriſon. And, among many fragments of veſſels that have been diſcovered in the ruins of the Roman ſlaughterhouſe and cowſtall in Caſtle-field, and on the oppoſite bank of the river and the ſite of Mr. Wallford's houſe, have ſome been found that were inſcribed with the names of three others. One was the unglazed handle of a maſſy pitcher, and had VABEO rudely

rudely ſtamped upon it; the name of an Italian potter in all probability, as we have Phoebio upon a veſſel at Rome, and Vibia on a Roman tombſtone in Britain [7]. Another was equally the handle of a pitcher, and equally large and unglazed, and had upon it the appellation NONOVI. And the third was a red ſtand for ſome little veſſel, and on the bottom exhibited the letters OF A ASCUI, Officina Auli Aſcui; ſignifying the piece to have been formed in the pottery of one Aulus Aſcuus, plainly the name of a German, and the ſame with the Ayſcue of modern times. Sect. II.

Nor were the Britons uninſtructed in the buſineſs of the turner and employ of the carpenter. They were converſant with both, forming their ſhields either in circles or lozenges, tapering the ſhafts of their ſpears and arrows, and rounding the axles of their chariots [8]. Such a degree of mechanical knowledge could ſcarcely be unknown to any nation, and was abſolutely neceſſary to a military one. And this would naturally lead them to the formation of many domeſtick utenſils of wood. Of this ſort moſt probably were the firſt houſhold implements of man in general; the block of the maple or beech being ſcooped into an unwieldy and unſhapely veſſel, the knife afterwards pruning off the excreſcences and correcting the form, the lathe rounding it into neatneſs, and the graver carving it into elegance. And with theſe the Britons had trenſhurs or wooden plates, wooden cadrs or chairs, and all the wooden furniture of the brewery. The chairs we ſee repreſented upon the coins of Cunobeline, a winged figure being placed with an helmet and trowſers in one

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of them, and the king's minter in another [9]. And in this reſpect the Britons were more poliſhed than the Gauls, the latter, even after the conqueſt of them by the Romans, ſitting conſtantly upon the ground at their entertainments, and having only a carpet of ſkins below them [10]. The Britiſh chairs were either tall and rounded blocks of wood, which our Mancunians to this day diſtinguiſh by the Britiſh appellation of Crickets, were provided with backs and mounted on four ſupporters, or reſted upon a ſquare baſis of timber. And, as we have ſpecimens of all the three delineated on the coins of Cunobeline, ſo we have a cricket, particularly, exhibited twice upon them, and in the very form which it bears in Mancheſter at preſent [11].

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form



The Romans probably very little improved either the wooden bowls, the plates, or the chairs, of the Britons.

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The vitrification of ſand by the force of fire, and the various application of the matter to domeſtick uſes, form one of the moſt pleaſing diſcoveries in the whole circle of domeſtick improvements. The diſcovery, however, reſulted not probably from the inventive powers of the underſtanding. It was merely the conſequence of chance. Such have been almoſt all the great diſcoveries of man, ſome incident ſoliciting his attention, and reaſon becoming the pupil of contingency. And ſuch was that of glaſs in all probability, ſand being vitrified by an accidental fire, and art imitating the work of caſualty. Many accidents of this nature would neceſſarily happen in the earlieſt ages of the world, in the firſt efforts of the pottery, or on the firſt formation of bricks. And tradition, almoſt the only information that we can have concerning the commencement of the domeſtick arts, here concurs with probability, and aſſerts the firſt glaſs to have been actually produced by chance [12]. But the firſt glaſs-houſes that hiſtory mentions were erected at the famous Tyre: and in Tyre was
P. 294. the only ſtaple of the manufacture for many ages [13]. The ſand of the ſhore, for the ſpace of half a mile about the mouth of the Belus, was peculiarly adapted to the making of glaſs, being neat and glittering [13]. And the wide range of the Tyrian commerce gave a large vent to the productions of the furnace. But before the conqueſt of Lancaſhire glaſs-houſes were erected in Italy,

Italy, Spain, Gaul [14], and Britain. Hence in many parts of our iſland have been diſcovered annulets of this metal, having a narrow perforation and thick rim, denominated by the remaining Britons Gleineu Naidroedh or Glaſs-adders, and, as the continuing ſuperſtitions concerning them ſhew, once uſed as taliſmans among the druids [15]. And in the barrows on Salisbury plain, which are older than the invaſion of the Romans, beads of glaſs have been diſcovered in numbers. Many of them were ſingle and pierced for the introduction of a ſtring, and many were combined together in the making, and twiſted round a ſmall rod of the ſame metal [16]. Thus proficients as the Britons were in the art of forming beads and rings of glaſs, no queſtion can be made but that they applied it directly to domeſtick purpoſes, and formed with it many inſtruments. And hiſtory aſſures us that they did, and that they manufactured a conſiderable quantity of glaſs-veſſels [17]. Theſe, like their annulets, were probably green, blue, yellow, or black, and many of them curiouſly ſtreaked with other colours [18]. And the proceſs in the manufacture would be nearly the ſame among the Britons, as it was among the Spaniards and Gauls. The ſand of their ſhores being reduced to a ſufficient fineneſs by art, it was mingled with three-fourths of their nitre, which was a fixed ſalt, and both were melted together. The metal was then poured into other veſſels, was left to harden into a maſs, and afterwards replaced in the furnace. And it there became clear and tranſparent in the boiling, and was then figured by blowing or modelled by the lathe into all ſuch veſſels as were wanted [19]. Nor did the arrival of the

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Romans,

Sect. II. Romans, I apprehend, improve this curious manufacture of Britain, as their taſte was juſt the reverſe of ours, and preferred ſilver and gold to glaſs for the compoſition of their drinking-veſſels [20]. They made indeed great improvements in their own at Rome, during the government of Nero. The veſſels then formed of this metal rivalled the bowls of porcelain in their dearneſs, and equalled the cups of cryſtal in tranſparency [21]. But theſe were infinitely too coſtly for general uſe. They would therefore be never attempted in Britain. And the common glaſſes of the Romans and provincials were greatly inferiour in goodneſs; and, from the fragments that have been diſcovered at the ſtations or towns of either, appear to have generally conſiſted of a thick, ſometimes white, but moſtly blue-green, metal [22].

Native amber, very naturally ſuppoſed for ages to be a diſtillation from the gummy trees that formerly lined all the northern coaſt of Germany, and are ſaid to remain in various places on the Baltick at preſent, appears upon a cloſer examination to be a foſſil, generated in the earth, and diſcloſed by accident. And it is the production of our own iſland, as well as North-Germany. Formed in the fiſſures of the cliffs that line the eaſtern ſhore of Britain particularly, it is thrown down by the falling of the rocks, and picked up on the beach or found floating on the waters. It is ſometimes gathered in large maſſes, not ſo bright and tranſparent as thoſe of the Baltick, but of a pale yellow and agreeably clouded. And it is incloſed in a thin coarſe coat, the neſt or ſhell of this equivocal creation, the ſemblance of a gum and a gem in one [23]. And the Britons appear

appear to have poſſeſſed conſiderable quantities of it. Sect. II.
This they molded into ſquares and circles, and their females ſtrung them as beads and wore them as necklaces [24]. Nor was this peculiar to the wives and daughters of Britain. The Gallick women in the north of Italy did the ſame, as late as the æra of Agricola's expedition into Lancaſhire [25]. And the Scotch retained the cuſtom within theſe two centuries [25]. The Britons alſo formed their amber into ſeveral veſſels [26]. And in this ſtate of their manufacture were they ſubdued by the Romans, and nearly in this they ſeem to have continued under them; the Romans only teaching them in P. 296.
all probability a greater neatneſs in the figure of their beads, and a greater elegance in the ſhape of their veſſels.

The firſt formation of braſs, as we are aſſured by hiſtorical infallibility, was prior to the flood, and diſcovered even in the ſeventh generation from Adam [27]. But the uſe of it was not, as ſeems generally believed and the Arundelian marbles aſſert, previous to the knowledge of iron. They were both firſt known in the ſame generation, and firſt wrought by the ſame diſcoverer [27]. And the knowledge of them muſt have been equally carried over the world afterwards, with the ſpreading colonies of the Noachidæ. An acquaintance with one or the other was abſolutely neceſſary to the exiſtence of the coloniſts, the clearing away of the woods about their ſettlements, and the erection of houſes for their habitation. And, as the nations in the eaſt appear to have worked their mines of iron or copper in the remoteſt

periods

Sect. II. periods of their hiſtory [28], ſo the Britons in the weſt were particularly acquainted with both [29].

Of all the metals, the moſt beneficial to man is iron. And the veins of it are therefore the moſt univerſally diffuſed. Providence has ſtored almoſt every region of the world, and particularly repleniſhed the hills of Britain, with that uſeful ore. But our countrymen were long unapprized of their wealth. And it was late before any mines of iron were opened in the iſland. They appear to have been begun only a few years before the deſcent of Cæſar, and even then were carried on, not by the Britons, but the Belgæ [30]. To that period, both of them received from the continent all the iron that they had among them. And the quantity which was then collected in the iſland was very inſignificant [31]. But, ſome mines being diſcovered, others would be immediately opened. And a conſiderable manufacture of iron was eſtabliſhed in the kingdom, before the reign
P. 297. of Tiberius [32]. In this would many domeſtick utenſils be formed by the Britons. Their iron money proves them to have poſſeſſed the ſecret of caſting the metal and ſtamping it. And the manufacture appears to have extended into the fartheſt parts of the north [33]. But it was conſiderably enlarged, I apprehend, and the forges greatly multiplied, by the Romans. One perhaps was erected in the vicinity of every ſtation. And in the weſtern riding of Yorkſhire and the neighbourhood of North-Brierley, amid many beds of cinders heaped up in the adjacent fields, a quantity of Roman coins was diſcovered ſome years ago in one of them [34].

When

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When the Britons imported all their iron from the continent, they imported alſo all their braſs. And, when they had ceaſed to introduce the former, they continued to receive the latter [35]. Their want of the metal remained, and no mines of it were opened in the iſland [36]. In the earlieſt ages whoſe manners have been delineated by hiſtory, we find the weapons of their warriours invariably framed of this factitious metal. And the moſt authentick of all the profane records of antiquity, the Arundelian marbles, for that reaſon miſtakenly date the firſt diſcovery of iron a couple of centuries below the Trojan war [37]. Every military nation, as ſuch, is naturally ſtudious of brightneſs in its arms, And the Britons particularly gloried in the neatneſs of theirs [38]. For this reaſon, the nations of the world ſtill fabricated their arms of braſs, even long after the Arundelian æra for the diſcovery of iron [39]; and the Britons continued to import it from the continent, though they had found iron to be a native of the country, and could have ſupplied themſelves with a ſufficient quantity of it. And for this reaſon alſo the latter appear P. 298. to have repoſited their brazen weapons in cloth, and even provided them with regular caſes [40].

When the Britons derived their iron and braſs from the continent, they purchaſed the latter, I ſuppoſe, at an eaſier expence than the former. The Gauls had many large braſs-works carried on in the kingdom, but ſeem to have had few iron-forges within it [41]. And this would naturally induce the Belgæ to be leſs diligent in their enquiry after the veins of copper and calamine at home, than for the courſes of iron ore; though the one

was

Sect. II. was equally diſcoverable in the iſland as the other, and lay equally within the Belgick regions of it. Braſs being thus cheaper to the Britons than iron, they neceſſarily formed with it ſome domeſtick as well as military implements. Such were common among the Gauls [42]. And ſuch were familiar to the Britons, either imported into the iſland, as ſome actually were, or manufactured within it, as others aſſuredly were [43]. The Britons had certainly braſs-founderies erected among them, and minted money and fabricated weapons of braſs.

In this condition of the works, the Romans entered the iſland. And, ſeeing ſo great a demand among the natives for this article, they would ſpeedily inſtruct them to diſcover the materials of it among themſelves. This muſt unavoidably have reſulted from the conqueſt of the Romans. The power of ſurprizing their new ſubjects with ſo unexpected a diſcovery, would naturally ſtimulate the pride of the Roman intellect. And the deſire of obliging themſelves with ſo cheap a ſupply of that uſeful metal, ſtationary as they were in the kingdom, would equally actuate the ſelfiſhneſs of the Roman heart. The veins of copper and calamine would be eaſily found out by an experienced enquirer after them; and the former metal is therefore diſtinguiſhed among the Welſh, only by the Roman appellation of Cyprium, Koppr, or Copper. And many founderies of braſs appear to have been eſtabliſhed in the iſland.
P. 299. Some had been erected before, one perhaps within the confines of every kingdom, and probably in the vicinity of every capital. One at leaſt would be neceſſary, in order

order to ſupply the armoury of the principality. And one perhaps was ſufficient for moſt of the Britiſh ſtates. But ſeveral appear now to have been ſettled in every kingdom, and one perhaps near every ſtationary town. Two have been diſcovered in the ſingle county of Eſſex, and within a narrow portion of it, at Fifield and Danbury [44]. And a third was placed upon Eaſterley Moor in Yorkſhire, twelve miles to the north-weſt of York, and in the neighbourhood of Iſurium or Aldborough [45]. Sect. II.

A braſs kettle or ſkillet, the workmanſhip in all probability of a Britiſh or Roman-Britiſh foundery in the neighbourhood of Mancheſter, was ſome years ago diſcovered in one of our moſſes, and is now lodged in our library. It is about five inches and a half in diameter and two and a half in depth, and fitted with a flat handle of braſs. And the metal of it, like that of the Britiſh coins and battle-axes, is mixed with a quantity of lead. Some was requiſite to make the braſs ſufficiently obedient to the tool. And the proportion of the temperature was the ſame in Italy and Gaul, being eight pounds of lead to an hundred of braſs [46]. But the paleneſs of the metal in the axes, coins, and ſkillet ſhews the proportion in Britain to have been very different. And the lead of all is nearly perhaps one full third of the whole compoſition [47].

[1] Cicero's Fam. Epiſt. lib. vii. E. 7, and Sidonius Apollinaris (Sirmondus) carmen 23 and lin. 306 and 351.—[2] Borlaſe's Coins N° 22, and Camden 2—30.—[3] Oſſian

Sect. II. [3] Oſſian vol. I. p. 11.—[4] Stukeley's Stonehenge p. 44 and plate, Borlaſe p. 233 and plate 18, and Wright's Louthiana b. iii. plate 2.—[5] B. I. ch. vii. ſ. 2, and Birt's Letters on the Highlanders, v. II. p. 43, but more
P. 300. particularly Oſſian v. I. p. 27. a note.—[6] Strabo p. 265. —[7] Pliny lib. xxxv. c. 12, vel quæ rotâ fiunt, and the bowl mentioned before in b. I. ch. ii. ſ. 3. See Montfaucon's Ital. Diary p. 99, and Horſley p. 328.—The glazed earthen rings of Camden c. 815 are therefore Roman-Britiſh.—[8] Pegge's Coins claſs 4—C, 5—4, and 6—2.—[9] Claſs 2—3. and 3—1 and 6.—[10] Diodorus p. 351.—[11] Pegge 3—9, 3—1, 2—3, 4—1, and 4—3. And Cricket is Krig-et, a little elevation, in Britiſh.—[12] Pliny lib. xxxvi. c. 26.—[13] Ibid.—[14] Ibid. —[15] Camden c. 815.—[16] Stukeley's Abury p. 26 and 43 and 45, and Stonehenge p. 45 and plate 32 and 4. —[17] Strabo p. 307, *ναλα σκευη*. Theſe and the accompanying words have been applied by ſome to mean, not what were made by the Britons, but imported into Britain. But the nature of the other particulars, mentioned by Strabo, is a ſufficient proof to the contrary. They are ſuch, I think, as could be manufactured only by the Britons.—[18] Stonehenge p. 45, and Camden c. 815. —[19] Pliny lib. xxxvi. c. 26. For the nitre of the antients being a fixed ſalt, ſee Hill's Hiſtory of Foſſils, p. 387. —[20] Pliny ibid.—[21] Ibid.—[22] Of Roman glaſs-ware, ſays Thoresby in Leeds p. 560, I have from London, Aldborough, and Adel: the bluiſh green, and ſome of the white, are very thick, above three-fourths of an inch; but a piece of the white, found five or ſix yards deep in the Roman wall at Aldborough, is remarkably thin

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thin for thoſe ages.—[23] See Pliny lib. xxxvii. c. 2. and Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 45, Diodorus p. 348, Camden p. 350 and 713, Dale's Harwich p. 112 and 275, Pennant's Tour in Scotland p. 13, Boetius Scot. Reg. Deſcr. fol. 10, 1575, Paris, and Leſlæi Hiſt. 1675. p. 29.—[24] Diodorus ibid. and Strabo p. 307, Abury p. 44, and Stonehenge p. 45 and plate 32.—[25] Pliny lib. xxxvii. c. 3. and Leſlæi Hiſt. p. 29.—[26] Strabo p. 307. —[27] Geneſis ch. iv.—[28] Deuteronomy ch. viii. See alſo ch. iii.—[29] Cæſar p. 88.—How miſtaken therefore are Montfaucon, Borlaſe, and all the antiquarians, in truſting to the Arundelian marbles for the æra of the firſt formation of braſs, groſsly overlooking the poſitive accounts of inſpiration!—[30] Cæſar p. 88.—[31] Cæſar ibid. —[32] Strabo p. 305.—[33] Oſſian vol. I. p. 14, 55, and 62.—[34] Dr. Richardſon's Letter in Leland vol. IX.—[35] Cæſar p. 88.—[36] Strabo p. 305.—[37] Arundelian Marbles in Prideaux p. 163 &c.—[38] Solinus c. 22.—[39] Borlaſe b. iii. ch. xiii.—[40] Ibid.—[41] Pliny lib. xxxiv. c. 8 and 14 for the braſs-works. And the only hint that I know of concerning any iron-works in Gaul, is that curious notice of Cæſar concerning the Bituriges; apud eos magnæ ſunt ferrariæ, atque omne genus cuniculorum notum atque uſitatum eſt, p. 145.—[42] Strabo p. 265 and Diodorus p. 35.—[43] Cæſar p. 59 and Strabo p. 265.—[44] Borlaſe b. iii. c. 13.—[45] Ibid.—[46] Pliny lib. xxxiv. c. 8.—[47] Leland vol. IX. See Itin. Cur. p. 55 for this kettle.

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III.

IN this ſtate of our iſland manufactures, when the hills of Britain were found to be repleniſhed, as they are expreſsly declared to have been in the third century, with a rich variety of all ſorts of metals [1]; the inhabitants of Mancheſter and the reſt of the county ſlept upon ſkins of beaſts, and lay on the floor of their apartments [2]. This was the practice univerſally in the firſt ages, and originally the cuſtom of the Greeks and Romans [3]. But the ſkins were afterwards changed for looſe ruſhes and heather, as the Welſh a few ages ago lay on the former, and the Highlanders ſleep on the latter to the preſent moment [3]. And the example of the Romans now ſuggeſted to the Mancunians the uſe, and the introduction of agriculture ſupplied them with the means, of the neater conveniency of ſtraw-beds. For many ages the beds of the Italians were conſtantly compoſed of ſtraw, and it ſtill formed thoſe of the ſoldiers and officers at the conqueſt of Lancaſhire [4]. And from both our countrymen learnt the uſe of them at this period. But it appears to have been taken up only by the gentlemen; as the common Welſh had their beds thinly ſtuffed with ruſhes, as late as the concluſion of the twelfth century [4]. And with the gentlemen it continued many ages afterwards. Straw was uſed even in the royal chambers of England, as late as the cloſe of the thirteenth [5]. Moſt of our Mancunian peaſants lie on chaff at preſent. And ſtraw-beds remain

main to this day general in France and Italy. But they were no longer ſuffered to reſt upon the ground. The better mode that had antiently prevailed in the eaſt, and long before been introduced into Italy, was adopted in Britain. And they were now mounted on pedeſtals [6]. This, however, was equally confined to the gentlemen. The bed ſtill continued on the floor among the common people. And the groſs cuſtom, that had prevailed from the beginning, was retained by the lower Britons to the laſt; and theſe ground-beds were laid along the walls of their houſes, and formed one common dormitory for all the members of the family. This faſhion continued univerſally among the inferiour ranks of the Welſh within theſe four or five ages, and with the more uncivilized part of the Highlanders nearly to our own times [6]. And even at no great diſtance from Mancheſter, in the neighbouring Buxton, and within theſe ſixty or ſeventy years, the perſons that repaired to the bath are all ſaid to have ſlept in one long chamber together; the upper part being allotted to the ladies and the lower to the gentlemen, and only partitioned from each other by a curtain. Sect. III.

The hearth of the Britons ſeems to have been fixed in the center of their great halls; as ſome of the common people even in the nearer parts of Scotland, to this day, have the fire in the middle of the room, and the family ſit all around it [7]. This was perhaps nothing more than a large ſtone, depreſſed a little below the level of the ground, and thereby adapted to receive the aſhes. And about a century ago in Cheſhire it was only the floor of the room, with the addition of a back or

Sect. III. hob of clay [7]. But it was now changed amongſt the gentlemen for a portable fire-pan, raiſed upon low ſupporters, and fitted with a circular grating of bars. Such were in uſe among the Gauls of the firſt century, and with the Welſh of the tenth [8]. And ſuch have continued among us very nearly to the preſent. They were large enough among the former to admit of two or three caldrons upon them, and as many ſpits before them [9]. And, from the mode remaining among our yeomanry at preſent, this ſeems to have been equally the caſe with the Britons in the hour of hoſpitality; equally in England and Gaul, the gueſts being ſeated by the fire, and the caldrons all charged and the ſpits loaded with entire joints of meat [10].

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The native Romans were ignorant of that inflammable fuel which we denominate Coal. And there are no beds of it in the compaſs of Italy. The great line of that foſſil ſeems to ſweep away round the globe from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, not ranging at a diſtance even from the ſouth-eaſterly parts of our own iſland, as is generally imagined, but actually viſiting Brabant and France, and yet avoiding Italy. But the primæval Britons appear to have uſed it. And in the precincts of Mancheſter particularly, which are furniſhed with an inexhauſtible abundance of it, they could not have remained unapprized of the agreeable combuſtible around them. Our currents frequently bring down fragments of coal from the mountains, the extremities riſing into day-light, and being waſhed away by the rains and rivulets. And, in the long and winding courſe of them through the pariſh,

the

the Britons would ſoon mark the ſhining ſtones in the channels, and by the aid of accident or the force of reflection find out the utility of them. Sect. III.

But we can advance ſtill nearer to a certainty. Several pieces of coal were diſcovered a few years ago in the ſand under the Roman way to Ribcheſter, when both were dug up at the conſtruction of Mr. Philips's houſe in the Quay-ſtreet. Two or three of them were as large as eggs. And others were found in the ſame bed of ſand ſixty yards to the weſt of it, and in the year 1770. But, what is more remarkable, the number of pieces in the former diſcovery was not leſs than thirty or forty, and a quantity of ſlack was dug up with them. And theſe circumſtances ſhew the coals to have been lodged upon the ſpot, before the road of the Romans covered it. That ground being in the immediate neighbourhood of Mancenion, the Britons had there repoſited a quantity of coals, probably for the uſe of the garriſon; and many of the ſmaller fragments, and ſome of the ſlack, were buried in the ſand upon which they were laid. That the Britons in general were acquainted with this fuel, is evident from its appellation amongſt us at preſent, which is not Saxon but Britiſh, and ſubſiſts among the Iriſh in their Gual, and among the Corniſh in their Kolan, to this day. And, that they made uſe of it in the Caſtle-field, is plain from the cindery droſs, the refuſe of ſome conſiderable coal-fire, which has been lately diſcovered on the ground. It was found about ſix or ſeven years ago, a quantity of it lying in a pit three or four feet under the ſurface, and contiguous to the P. 303.

Sect. III. Roman road at the extremity of the field. And it was alſo found about the ſame time, on cutting down the road there from the ſurface to the baſe; and to this day more imperfectly appears in the open and curious front of it. A remarkable ſeam of black rubbiſh extends for ſeveral yards betwixt two courſes of gravel, one about a yard in height, and the other a foot in depth; ſpreads about two inches in thickneſs at the northern end, where the pit was found; and regularly narrows from it acroſs the face of the road. This had evidently, therefore, been thrown upon the way by the Romans, from the materials of the pit upon one ſide; as they caſt up the neighbouring ground to form the baſis of it. And this naturally diſpoſed itſelf, as it flew from the ſhovel, in the thickeſt courſe immediately under the hand, and in the thinneſt at the fartheſt extremity from it. I have collected cinders from the ſeam, mixed with ſome metallick matter, that ſhewed the fire to have belonged to a forge in the Caſtle-field. And I have picked ſeveral large fragments of rock from the gravel immediately under the whole, which had evidently been brought from the neighbouring Medlock, and laid upon the way before it. And both Romans and Saxons appear actually uſing coal in Britain. In the Weſt-riding of Yorkſhire and neighbourhood of North-Brierley, as I have previouſly remarked, are many beds of cinders heaped up in the fields; and a number of Roman coins was found ſome years ago in one of them [11]. And as early as 852 a grant was made of ſome lands by the abbey of Peterborough, under the reſervation of certain boons and payments in kind to the monaſtery, as

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one

one night's entertainment, ten veſſels of Welſh and two of common ale, ſixty cart-loads of wood, and twelve of ȝnæƿan, foſſil or pit coal [11]. Sect. III.

The extenſive beds of fuel, therefore, with which the kingdom of England and the precincts of Mancheſter are ſo happily ſtored, were firſt noticed by the ſkill and firſt opened by the labour of the Britons, and ſome time before the arrival of the Romans among us. And the nearer quarries in the confines of Bradford, Newton, and Mancheſter, would naturally attract the notice and invite the inquiries of the Britons, before any others. The current of the Medlock, which waſhes the ſides of them, would bring down ſpecimens of the riches within, lodge many of them about the foot of the Caſtle-field, and allure the Britons ſucceſſively to a collection of the one and a ſearch after the other. P. 305.

But, even for ages after the diſcovery, wood continued to compoſe the general firing of the nation; as, in the little rental of the above-mentioned eſtate, we ſee ſixty cart-loads of wood reſerved for the abbey, and only twelve of coal. The former naturally continued the principal article of our fuel, as long as the foreſts and thickets preſented themſelves ſo ready to the hand. And ſuch it remained at Mancheſter to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, notwithſtanding the diſcovery of another ſpecies of firing, which was equally acceſſible as wood. This is that looſe and fibrous ſubſtance, which our moſſes have ſo plentifully afforded us for ages, and we find ſo convenient in our houſes [12]. And this moſt inflammable of all fuel would naturally be diſcovered before the coal, and be there-

Sect. III. fore known to the primitive Britons. But it makes its firſt appearance in hiſtory together with the other, and is equally mentioned with it in the Peterborough rental; the ſixty cart-loads of wood, and the twelve of foſſil coal, being accompanied with ſix of ȝeapꝺa, earth, or turf. And to theſe we now learned to add the charcoal of the Romans; and the method, which they taught us of making it, continues eſſentially the ſame to the preſent moment [13].

The Britons appear alſo to have opened their mines of lead, and extracted great quantities of metal from them [14]. In this employ, not only the Belgick, but the Aboriginal Britons were engaged. And the mines of the Silley iſles were worked by the one, and thoſe of the Peak by the other [15]. The lead-ore lay much more obvious to the notice and acceſſible to the labour of the inhabitants, than either the iron or copper. It was equally found indeed, at this period, in France and Spain. But the ſearch for it in both countries was attended with much greater trouble and expence, than in Britain. And the veins of it here lay ſo immediately below the ſurface of the ground, and branched out in ſo great an abundance, that a very ſhort period before the reduction of Lancaſhire, conquered as the Britons of Silley and the Peak had then been by the Romans, but ſtill ſubjected, as I have ſaid before, to the legiſlative authority of their reſpective ſovereigns, a law was made by the latter to reſtrict the working of the mines, and prevent the overſtocking of the market [16]. With lead the Britons tempered the braſs of their ſkillets, arms, and coins. And therefore they

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made

made many of their domeſtick veſſels with it. Lead and tin were for ſeveral ages the only metals, that they had within themſelves. And, when the Romans entered the county of Cheſter, they ſeem to have found the former very plentiful among the inhabitants, and raiſed a rudely magnificent trophy with it; fixing more than twenty inſcribed plates upon poles, and erecting them on the ground where they had defeated the Britons. Sect. III.

But the tin was the moſt remarkable production of the iſland. Found both in Spain and Portugal, it was diſcovered much more plentifully in Britain [17]. And, being collected in the ſand or glebe, it was cleared from the earth with water, fuſed in the furnaces, and beaten into ſquares [18]. This the original Britons in all probability, and the Roman actually, formed into cups, baſons, and pitchers. And ſome of them have been tranſmitted to the preſent age. A baſon of it was found a few years ago in Cornwall, four inches and an half in diameter at the brim and two and a half at the bottom, having a ſmall fluting round the outſide of the former, and preſenting a Roman inſcription on the latter [19]. And a pitcher has alſo been diſcovered of the ſame metal, containing above four quarts and an half, gradually narrowing to the top, and fitted with an handle [20]. Nor was this all the uſe, that the Britons ſeem to have made of their tin. Taught by themſelves, or inſtructed by their Roman maſters, they probably, like them, lined the inſide of their brazen veſſels with it, and thereby prevented the tincture of braſs [12]. And receiving P. 307.

Sect. III. ceiving the knowledge perhaps directly from the Gauls, deriving it perhaps immediately from the Romans, they as probably practiſed the curious art which the Gauls had diſcovered, and which was recently uſed in making our bell-metal, of incorporating tin ſo intimately into braſs, that the work had all the hardneſs of the latter and almoſt all the beauty of the former [22].

But the Romans alſo taught us to combine two or three of our metals together, and form another, which ſhould be more beautiful in its appearance and more convenient in its uſe, than any of them ſingly. This is that agreeable appendage of our tables, which the Romans called Argentarium or the ſilvery metal, and we denominate Pewter [23]. And of this the original Britons were ignorant. Even the Romans became acquainted with it, only a very little before the ſurrendery of Mancheſter to Agricola [24]. And the latter introduced it to the knowledge of the former; ſeveral pieces of it having been diſcovered within ſome of our Roman ſtations. I have a ſmall fragment of Roman pewter in my own poſſeſſion. It was found in 1766 within a meadow at Aldcheſter in Oxfordſhire, which the nature of the ground, and its vicinity to the area of the town, ſhew to have been the ſite of the ſtation. And it was even picked up within the walls of a ruined building, that was raiſed a little above the level of the meadow, and which the diſcovery of a teſſellated pave-
P. 308. ment above, and of an hypocauſt in one part below, plainly pointed out as the prætorium of the camp. But a much larger piece was diſcovered about ſixty years ago at Ebcheſter in the county of Durham, ſome vain

ſearchers

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ſearchers after other ſort of treaſure digging into the bank of the ſtation, and lighting upon a conſiderable quantity of a melted metal, which they naturally ſuppoſed to be ſilver at firſt, but afterwards found to be pewter [25]. And the metals, that were joined together in the pewter of the Romans, were either tin and braſs or lead and tin; as the proportion in which they were mixed was one third of braſs to the tin, and one half or one third of tin to the lead [26]. This factitious metal was ſold at Rome ſoon after its firſt appearance, at the rate of four ſhillings and ten pence a pound [26]. But that was only the common price of the tin at Rome; and even the lead was ſold at two ſhillings and ſeven pence [27]. And all the three muſt have been conſiderably cheaper in Britain, as it was the ſtaple of the two principal conſtituents of the Roman pewter, tin and lead, and as the expences of the long carriage from Britain to Rome would greatly enhance the original price of them.

[1] Solinus c. xxii, Metallorum largam variamque copiam, quibus undique generum pollet venis locupletibus. [2] Diodorus p. 351.—[3] See Bulengerius c. xxix. in tom. 12. Grævius.—And ſee Giraldus's Deſ. Cambriæ p. 888. —[4] Pliny lib. viii. c. 48. The beds of the Roman gentry at this period were generally filled with feathers, and thoſe of the inns with the ſoft down of reeds, pro plumâ ſtrata cauponarum replet, Pliny lib. xvi. c. 36.—And ſee Giraldus p. 888.—[5] See b. I. c. 8. ſ. 2. and the notes, for the kings of Wales uſing ſtraw-beds in the tenth century, and thoſe of England in the thirteenth.—[6] Geneſis c. xlix. and Bede lib. iii.

c. 27,

Sect. III. c. 27, Giraldus p. 888 for the common Welſh having their beds upon the ground, and ibid. and Crit. Diſſ. p. 140 for the Welſh and Highlanders lying all in one apartment.—[7] Gent. Mag. March 1754, and King's Vale Royal, Pt. I. p. 19.—[8] Diodorus p. 351, and Howel lib. ii. c. 1. a. 6.—[9] Diodorus p. 351.—[10] Ibid.—[11] Dr. Richardſon's Letter in Leland vol. ix, and Saxon Chron.—[12] Our moors of turbary are particularly mentioned in a record of 1322, and declared to be propter largitatem et diverſitatem entirely unmeaſured. P. 309. And the people had a right of common in them.—[13] Pliny lib. xvi. c. 6.—[14] Strabo p. 265.—[15] Cæſar p. 88, Mediterraneis, and Strabo p. 265.—[16] Pliny lib. xxxiv. c. 17, ultrò.—[17] Pliny lib. xxxiv. c. 16.—[18] Pliny ibid. and Diodorus p. 347.—[19] Phil. Tranſ. 1759, Pt. I. p. 13.—[20] Ibid.—[21] Pliny lib. xxxiv. c. 17.—[22] Ibid.—[23] Ibid.—[24] Ibid. Nunc adulteratur.—[25] Phil. Tranſ. 1702 and 1703. N° 6.—[26] Pliny ibid.—[27] Ibid.

IV.

AT the period of Cæſar's expedition into the iſland, the woods of Britain were repleniſhed nearly with the ſame varieties of timber as the foreſts of Gaul [1]. And the beech and fir are the only trees excepted by Cæſar. He aſſerts them both to have been ſtrangers to Britain at that æra [1]. This, however, the generality of our criticks have affected to disbelieve; and have appealed againſt it to the beech-covered hills of the Chiltern, the fir-

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fir-topt mountains of Scotland, and the fir-apples diſcovered in draining our Marton Mere [z]. But theſe arguments, ſurely, could never have been thought of ſufficient moment to overthrow one of the beſt hiſtorical authorities in the world, if they had not fallen in with that frivolous petulance of criticiſm, which has lately been very prevalent among us, and continually exalting itſelf againſt the teſtimony of Cæſar. Cæſar has explicitly aſſerted the fact. Cæſar appears in general, whatever the humourſomeneſs of antiquarianiſm has ſuggeſted, to have gained very accurate informations concerning the iſland. And if, in ſuch caſes, the credit of cotemporary relations was to be ſuperſeded by hypothetical reaſonings, and the authority of peremptory aſſertions overborne by problematical arguments, the faith of records would be deſtroyed at once, and the authenticity of hiſtory utterly annihilated.—I cannot, however, ſubſcribe entirely to the relation of Cæſar. Other and more forcible arguments preſent themſelves to the inquiſitive mind, that ſuperſede the authority of that great hiſtorian, and ſhew one of the trees to be a native of Britain.

Among the many Roman names for the fir in the Britiſh language, there are three which are purely Celtick. The Scotch diſtinguiſh it by the appellation of Gius, the Iriſh by that of Giumhus, and the Welſh by that of Fynniduydh. But, if the fir had been introduced into Britain by the Romans, all the Britiſh appellations of it would have been, as ſome of them evidently are, the mere derivatives of the Roman Abies, Z-aban, S-ibuydh, S-apin, and S-abin. And the exiſtence

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Sect. IV. iſtence of one Britiſh name for it is a preſumptive argument in itſelf, that the tree was not introduced by the Romans, but was originally Britiſh.

Even in the third century only, firs appear in the unromanized regions of Caledonia and Ireland, and as the acknowledged aborigines of the country. And they are frequently mentioned in the poems of the Caledonian bard, not as plants ſeen by him on the continent or in the provinces, not merely as forming the imagery of a ſimilitude, but as actually growing in both. The ſpear of a warriour, ſays an Iriſhman in Ulſter, pointing to a neighbouring tree, "is like that blaſted "fir." It is compared by another to the fir of Slimora particularly, a mountain in the north of Ireland [3]. And the tomb of a fallen hero, upon the weſtern ſhore of Caledonia, is thus deſcribed from the reality by the poet himſelf: "Doſt thou not behold, "Malvina, a rock with its head of heath? Three "aged firs bend from its face; green is the narrow plain "at its feet [4]."

This tree is alſo diſcovered in our moſſes about Manchester, together with the birch and oak, as frequent as the latter, and much more ſo than the former. And our moſs-fir is not, as the wild hypotheſis of ſome aſſerts it to be, a mere mimickry of the natural tree; merely an oak or a birch, that, lying for ages in the unctuous maſs, has diſcharged itſelf of all its original properties, and adopted thoſe of the fir. Had this been the caſe, it could not be diſtinguiſhed from the birch or oak; and all the trees of our moſſes muſt have been equally firs. But this is the only one of them, that exhibits a

reſinous quality. And it is as much diſcriminated to the eye by the nature of its grain, as the oak or birch. —Nor is that all. The fir is found in ſuch of our moſſes particularly, as were demonſtrably prior to the ſettlement of the Romans among us. It is diſcovered in ſome, that appear to the preſent period actually traverſed by the roads of the Romans. And it is found immediately adjoining to the road, and abſolutely on both ſides of it. It is thus met with very commonly in the moſs of Failſworth, cloſe to either margin of the Street, and mingled with birches and oaks. And, as the road demonſtrates the moſs to have been formed before the ſettlement of the Romans at Mancheſter, ſo the trees diſcovered in it muſt have been equally prior to that remarkable period. This argument, I think, carries a deciſive authority with it. But I apprehend that we can proſecute it up to demonſtration.—The fir has been found in one of our moſſes, not only in thoſe parts which are immediately contiguous to the Roman road, but in ſuch as are actually occupied and covered with the line of it, and in the ſpungy earth immediately below the gravel. It has been recently dug up by myſelf under the way over Failſworth moſs. And I have now in my own poſſeſſion two pieces of genuine fir, that were bedded with a birch-tree a yard and a half in the moſſy ſoil, and three yards under the crown of the Roman gravel.

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Theſe are ſeveral arguments, which, ſpringing from different ſources, all happily unite in one common channel, and form together, I think, an irreſiſtible force of evidence. And a fact which relates to the remoteſt antiquity,

Sect. IV. tiquity, and is aſſerted againſt the higheſt authority, cannot be too powerfully demonſtrated. The fir, then, was one of the trees of Britain before the arrival of the Romans among us. But the beech was not. We have the poſitive teſtimony of Cæſar, that the latter was unknown to the iſland at the period of his own invaſion. We have no demonſtrative reaſons, no forcible arguments, and indeed no arguments at all, againſt it. And
P. 312. we have the ſtrong atteſtation of the Britiſh language in confirmation of it, all its terms for the beech being evidently Roman, Faighe, Faghe, or Faydh. The Romans found the fir a native of the iſland. But they introduced the beech into it. And the tree which they found was not preciſely the ſame that now grows amongſt us. Our moſs-fir is daily experienced in Lancaſhire to be of a much more reſinous quality than the other. It could not have acquired this property, by lying in the moſſy ſoil. And it is therefore of a different ſpecies, and the ſame aſſuredly with the Scotch fir, now totally extirpated in England, but preſerved in the Highlands of Scotland [5].

Nor was this the only tree which the Romans introduced into Britain. They firſt brought among us, as the Britiſh and preſent names of the trees ſufficiently intimate, the Platanus or plane, Tilia or teil, and Buxus or box, the Ulmus or elm, and Populus or poplar. And the firſt, originally a native of Aſia, and tranſplanted into Sicily, ſoon paſſed the ſtrait into Italy, and before the year 79 had reached the moſt northerly ſhore of Gaul [5].

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The principal production of our orchards has derived its preſent appellation among us from the Britiſh language, and in the Welſh, Corniſh, Armorican, and Iriſh is invariably denominated the Avall, Aball, or apple. And it ſeems to have been brought into Britain by the firſt colonies of the natives, and by the Hædui of Somerſetſhire particularly. Hence we find the preſent ſite of Glaſtonbury to have been diſtinguiſhed, before the arrival of the Romans, by the ſignificant title of Avallonia or the Apple-orchard [6]. The fruit alſo ſo ſtrongly recommended itſelf to the Britons, that another Avellana aroſe in the north of England [7]. And, before the third century, it appears to have been diſſeminated over the iſland, and had even ſtocked the diſtant and un-romanized regions of Thule with large plantations of the trees [8]. But to this, the only imported fruit-tree of the Britiſh orchard, the Romans naturally added ſeveral plants. And theſe appear to have been the pear, damſon, and cherry, the Arbor Perſica, perch, or peach, Aprica or apricot [9], and Cydonia or quince. Ceraſi or cherries were the native growth of Pontus and Egypt, and firſt introduced into the weſt by Lucullus, the conqueror of the former; being tranſplanted by him into Italy in the ſeventy-third year before the Chriſtian æra, and carried by others into Britain within five years only after the firſt ſettlement of the Romans within it [10]. Pears, the original production probably of moſt of the ſoutherly countries, abounded particularly in Italy, and, as is ſtrongly intimated by the Roman name of the fruit in Wales, Bretagne, Ireland, and England, Per, Peren, Piorra,

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Sect. IV. Piorra, and Pear, were brought by the Romans into Britain. And the damſon had been long taken from the vicinity of its native Damaſcus, and accuſtomed to the ſoil of Italy, when the Romans entered the county of Lancaſter [11]; and the Britiſh appellation of it, Daimſhin or Damſon, remaining among the Iriſh and ourſelves, denotes it to have been introduced into Britain by the Romans. The quince was originally the produce of Crete [12]. And the peach, tranſplanted early from its own Perſia into Egypt, but carried very late into the weſt, was common in Gaul about the epoch of Agricola's conqueſts in Britain [13]. To theſe we may ſubjoin the Morus, Muyar, or mulberry, and the Caſtanea, Kaſtanuydh, or cheſtnut, the Ficus or fig, Sorbus or ſervis, and Meſpilus or medlar [14]. The cheſtnut was originally the produce of Sardis in the Leſſer Aſia, but before the reign of Veſpaſian was cultivated with great ſucceſs at Tarentum and Naples [15]. And the medlar was unknown to the Romans at the period of the laſt Punick war, and was originally brought into the weſt from Greece [16].

The Britiſh garden, as I have formerly remarked, would at firſt be planted only with the flowers that naturally chequered our ſlopes or ſkirted our woods. But the Roman ſoon lent its friendly aſſiſtance, and tranſmitted ſome of its own flowers and plants into Britain. There, even under the greater moiſture of our ſkie and the fainter livelineſs of our ſun, they took root in the iſland, and became familiarized to the clime. And the former, particularly, are now ſo thoroughly diffuſed over the country, ſhoot up ſo generally under the ſhel-

ter of our hedges and along the ſides of our vallies, that they are conſtantly conſidered as natives of the ſoil. But the names of both ſufficiently declare their origin, and their Roman appellations betray their Roman extraction. Such are the Britiſh Rhos or Engliſh roſe, the Roſmarinum, Rhoſmari, or roſemary, the Lili or lily, Violed or violet, Tim or thyme, and many others. The beſt roſes in Europe were the Italian, and the beſt in Italy the Prænestine and Campanian [17]. And thyme, in the days of Veſpaſian, ſo greatly overſpread the plains in the province of Narbonne, that many thouſands of cattle were brought every year from the diſtant parts of the country to fatten upon it [18]. Such alſo were the more numerous and beneficial plants and ſeeds of the Radix or radiſh, the aſparagus, cucumber, lettuce, melon, and peas, Fabæ, Faens, or beans, and mint, bete, fennel, and many others. The aſparagus was a great favourite among the Romans, ſtudiouſly cultivated by their gardeners, and fed to ſo enormous a ſize in the ſoil of Ravenna, that three of them only were a pound in weight [19]. The cucumber of the provinces was much larger than that of Italy, which was equally green and ſmall, and ſo greatly eſteemed by Tiberius, that he ordered pots of them to be fixed upon carriages, and regularly wheeled into the ſun from their ſheds, in order to have one of them every day in ſummer [20]. And lettuces were ſuppoſed to be uncommonly ſalutary by the Romans, after the great cure which Muſa effected with one of them upon the perſon of Auguſtus, when the emperor's life was in the moſt imminent danger, and his phyſician boldly broke

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Sect. IV. through the rules of the practice in order to prescribe it for him [21].

The first obvious method of reducing corn into flour for bread, would be by the simple expedient of pounding. And that was for ages the only one which was practised by the various descendants of Adam, and actually continued in use among the Romans below the P. 315. reign of Vespasian [22]. But the process was very early improved by the application of a grinding power, and the introduction of mill-stones. This, like most of the common refinements in domestick life, was probably the invention of the antediluvian world, and certainly practised in some of the earliest ages after it [23]. And, like most of them, it was equally known in the east and west. Hence the Gauls and Britons appear familiarly acquainted with the use of hand-mills, before the time of their submission to the Romans [24]; the Britons particularly distinguishing them, as the Highlanders and we distinguish them at present, by the simple appellation of Querns, Carnes, or Stones. And to these the Romans added the very useful invention of water-mills. For this discovery the world is pretty certainly indebted to the genius of Italy; and the machine was not uncommon in the country at the conquest of Lancashire [25]. This, therefore, the Romans would necessarily introduce with their many other refinements among us. And, that they actually did, the British appellation of a water-mill fully suggests of itself; the Melin of the Welsh and Cornish, the Mull, Meill, and Melin of the Armoricans, and the Irish Muilean and Muilind, being all evidently derived from the Roman Mola and Molen-

Molendinum. The ſubject Britons univerſally adopted the Roman name, but applied it, as we their ſucceſſors do, only to the Roman mill. And one of theſe was probably erected at every ſtationary city in the kingdom. One plainly was at Mancheſter, ſerving equally the purpoſes of the town and the accommodation of the garriſon. And one alone would be ſufficient, as the uſe of hand-mills remained very common in both, many having been found about the ſite of the ſtation particularly, and the general practice having deſcended among us nearly to the preſent period. Such it would be peculiarly neceſſary to have in the camp, that the garriſon might be provided againſt a ſiege. And the water-mill at Mancheſter was fixed immediately below the Caſtle-field and the town, and on the channel of the Medlock. There, a little above the antient ford, the ſluice of it was accidentally diſcovered about ſix and twenty years ago. On the margin of Dyer's-croft, and oppoſite to ſome new conſtructions, the current of the river, accidentally ſwelled with the rains, and obſtructed by a dam, broke down the northern bank, ſwept away a large oak upon the edge of it, and diſcloſed a long tunnel in the rock below. This I have ſince laid open in part with a ſpade. It appeared entirely uncovered at the top, was about a yard in width and another in depth, but gradually narrowed to the bottom. The ſides ſhewed everywhere the marks of the tool on the rock, and the courſe of it was parallel with the channel. It was bared by the flood about twenty-five yards only in length, but was evidently continued for ſeveral further; having originally

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Sect. IV. ginally begun, as the nature of the ground evinces, juſt above the large curve in the channel of the Medlock.

For the firſt five or ſix centuries of the Roman ſtate, there were no publick bread-bakers in the city of Rome [26]. They were firſt introduced into it from the Eaſt, at the concluſion of the war with Perſes, and about the year 167 before Chriſt [27]. And, towards the cloſe of the firſt century, the Roman families were ſupplied by them every morning with freſh loaves for
P. 317. breakfaſt [28]. But the ſame cuſtom, which prevailed originally among the Romans and many other nations [29], has continued nearly to the preſent time among the Mancunians. The providing of bread for every family was left entirely to the attention of the women in it [30]. And it was baked upon ſtones, which the Welſh denominate Greidiols and we Gredles. It appears, however, from the kiln-burnt pottery which has been diſcovered in the Britiſh ſepulchers, and from the Britiſh appellation of an Odyn or oven remaining among us at preſent, that furnaces for baking were generally known among the original Britons. An odyn would, therefore, be erected at the manſion of each Britiſh baron, for the uſe of himſelf and his retainers. And, when he and they removed into the vicinity of a Roman ſtation, the oven would be rebuilt with the manſion, and the publick bakehouſes of our towns commence at the firſt foundation of them. One bakehouſe would be conſtructed, as I have previouſly ſhewn one mill to have been ſet up, for the publick ſervice of all the Mancunian families. One oven and one mill appear to have

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have been equally eſtabliſhed in the town. And the inhabitants of it appear immemorially accuſtomed to bake at the one and grind at the other [31]. Both, therefore, were in all probability conſtructed at the firſt introduction of water-mills and ovens into the county. The great ſimilarity of the appointments refers the conſideration directly to one and the ſame origin for them. And the general nature of all ſuch inſtitutions points immediately to the firſt and actual introduction of both. And, as the ſame eſtabliſhments prevailed equally in other parts of the north, and pretty certainly obtained over all the extent of Roman Britain, the ſame erections were as certainly made at every ſtationary town in the kingdom.

[1] Cæſar p. 88.—[2] Plot's Staffordſhire p. 216 &c. and Camden c. 967.—[3] Oſſian vol. i. p. 2. and vol. ii. p. 5.—[4] Vol. i. p. 127.—[5] And this, I ſuppoſe, is the old fir of Ireland, thus deſcribed by Giraldus; Ireland (he ſays) abundat abiete—, *thuris et incenſi matre*, Top. Hib. p. 739. Camden.—Pliny lib. xii. c. 1.—[6] Richard p. 19.—[7] Banna, Uxeludiano, Aval-aria or (as both the MS. in the French King's library, and the Vatican MS., agree to read the name) Avalana; in Ravennas. And ſee an extract from Myrdhin Wylht, a poet of the ſixth century, where the apples of it are praiſed, in Evans p. 77.—[8] Solinus c. xxii.—[9] This is provincially pronounced in Lancaſhire, and was univerſally pronounced formerly (Polyolbion p. 298 Pt. 1.), not Apricot, but Apricock, with that original and Britiſh termina- P. 318.

Sect. IV. tion which forms Capet into Coppock, Mallet into Mollock, &c.—[10] Pliny lib. xv. c. 25.—[11] Lib. xv. c. 13.—[12] Lib. xiii. c. 19. and lib. xv. c. 11.—[13] Lib. xv. c. 12 and 13.—[14] Lib. xv. c. 20, 23, and 24.—[15] Lib. xv. c. 23.—

In the Phil. Tranſ. vol. lix p. 23 and vol. lxi Pt. 1. p. 136—169 is a diſpute betwixt my learned friend Dr. Ducarrel &c. and the Hon. Mr. Daines Barrington, concerning the origin of the cheſtnut in England. The latter would gladly prove it to have been lately tranſplanted into the iſland, and from Spain probably. And the former would make it a native of the country. The arguments for its recent introduction have been overthrown, in the compleateſt manner, by the Doctor and his two aſſociates (p. 136—166). Nor has Mr. Barrington, in his reply (p. 167—169), even ventured to ſupport them. And we may add to the reaſonings one deciſive obſervation, That the cheſtnut was in this iſland even as early as the twelfth century, was then common in it, was ſpread over the ſurface of the country, and even conſtantly grew wild in our woods. Giraldus Cambrenſis, ſpeaking of Ireland, ſays: arborum—ſpecies quatuor, quas *inſula Britannica circa cultoris operam per ſe producit*, hìc deficiunt; *caſtanus* et fagus &c. (Top. Hib. p. 739).—But, after all, is there not an errour running through the whole controverſy? And are not all the diſputants miſtaken in their main poſition? The cheſtnut-tree is demonſtrably an antient inhabitant of the iſland. But it is not, therefore, a native. It may have been introduced in the earlier ages of our hiſtory. And, if my argument here from the Roman-Britiſh appellations

pellations be juſt, and reaſon ſuggeſts and hiſtory ſhews that it is, the tree was firſt brought into Britain by the Romans. Sect. IV.

[16] Pliny Lib. xv. c. 20.—[17] Lib. xxi. c. 4.—[18] Lib. xxi. c. 10.—[19] Lib. xix. c. 4 and 8.—[20] Lib. xix. c. 5.—[21] Lib. xix. c. 8.—[22] Lib. xviii. c. 10.—[23] Exodus c. xi. and Deuteron. c. xxiv.—[24] Cæſar p. 3. of the Helvetick Gauls, molita cibaria, and Strabo p. 287, μυλας.—[25] Pliny lib. xviii. c. 10, Major pars Italiæ ruido utitur pilo, rotis etiam quas aqua verſet obiter, et molat; and Palladius lib. i. c. 42, Si aquæ copia eſt, fuſura balneorum debent piſtrina ſuſcipere, ut, ibi formatis *aquariis molis*, ſine animalium vel hominum labore frumenta frangantur.—[26] Pliny lib. xviii. c. 11.—[27] Ibid.—[28] Martial lib. xiv. E. 223.—[29] Pliny ibid.—[30] The women among the Saxons uſed generally to brew as well as bake. Of Hereford it is recorded in Doomſday, that cujuſcunque uxor brazabat intus et extra civitatem dabat x denarios per conſuetudinem to the king, the lord of the town (Gale's xv Scriptores p. 769. from Doomſday Book). And the Brewer in all our old ſtatutes is always implied to be a woman. So in the great ordinance for bakers, brewers, and others, during the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. and II, the brewer is conſtantly denominated Braciatrix, quæ &c. c. 6.—[31] See b. II. c. v. ſ. 2.

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AMONG the various trees which the Romans introduced into Britain, the moſt curious undoubtedly was the vine. And it appears to have been very common in the iſland a few centuries ago. From the name of vineyard yet adhering to the ruinous ſites of our caſtles and monaſteries, there ſeem to have been few in the country but what had a vineyard belonging to them. The county of Glouceſter is particularly commended by Malmeſbury in the twelfth century, as excelling all the reſt of the kingdom in the number and goodneſs of its vineyards [1]. In the earlier periods of our hiſtory, the iſle of Ely was expreſsly denominated the iſle of vines by the Normans. Vineyards are frequently noticed in the deſcriptive accounts of Doomſday [2]. And thoſe of England are even mentioned by Bede, as early as the commencement of the eighth century [3].

That the Romans were the original introducers of the plant, we need no other teſtimony than the Britiſh appellations of it. Being brought by them into Gaul [4], it was denominated the Vigne by the natives. And, being carried by them into Britain, it was ſimilarly called by the inhabitants the Guin-uydhen, the Guinbren, the Guin-ien, or Fion-ras, as it is ſtill denominated in the Welſh, Corniſh, Armorican, and Iriſh dialects. Theſe appellations, like the Gallick, do not directly ſignify the vine, and only ſpeak of it character-

racteriſtically as the wine-tree. And, as they ſhew the Romans to have been the firſt planters of it in both kingdoms, ſo this little peculiarity pretty plainly intimates the natives of both to have been acquainted with the liquor, ſome time before they cultivated the tree. Such would naturally be the caſe of both. Such appears to have been actually the caſe with the Gauls [5]. And the Caledonian Britons, who were ſtrangers to the plant, were converſant with its produce before the middle of the third century [6]. Sect. V.

The former was not brought into Britain in the firſt [7], but was introduced before the cloſe of the third [8]. And, confined as it would for ages be within the pale of the Roman government, it was tranſplanted into Ireland before the beginning of the eighth [9]. But the grape, or, as with an agreeable ſimplicity it was called by the Britons, the corn of the tree, the wine-grane, and the apple of the vine, was not, as it now is, merely raiſed for the uſes of the table. All the arts of the vigneron would naturally be introduced with the plant. They were carried with it into Gaul. And, that they came together into Britain, the good knowledge which the Caledonians appear to have had of the liquor is a preſumptive evidence, and the Britiſh appellation of wine-tree for the vine ſeems a ſtrong argument. But Doomſday exhibits to us a particular proof of wine made in England, during the period preceding the Conqueſt [10]. And, after it, the biſhop of Ely appears to have received at leaſt three or four tuns of wine annually, as tythe, from the produce of the vineyards in his dioceſs; and to have made frequent reſervations in his leaſes P. 320.

Sect. V. leaſes of a certain quantity of wine for rent. A plot of land in London, which now forms Eaſt-Smithfield and ſome adjoining ſtreets, was with-held from the religious houſe within Aldgate by four ſucceſſive conſtables of the Tower, in the reigns of Rufus, Henry, and Stephen, and made by them into a vineyard to their great emolument and profit. In the old accounts of rectorial and vicarial revenues, and in the old regiſters of eccleſiaſtical ſuits concerning them, the tithe of wine is an article that frequently occurs in Kent, Surry, and other counties [11]. And the wines of Glouceſterſhire, within a century after the Conqueſt, were little inferiour to the French in ſweetneſs [11]. The beautiful region of Gaul, which had not a ſingle vine in the days of Cæſar, had numbers ſo early as the time of Strabo. The ſouth of it was particularly ſtocked with them; and they had even extended themſelves into the interiour parts of the country. But the grapes of the latter did not ripen kindly [12]. And France was even famous for its vineyards in the reign of Veſpaſian [13], and even exported its wines into Italy [14]. The whole province of Narbonne was then covered with vines: and the wine-merchants of the country were remarkable for all the knaviſh dexterity of our modern brewers, tinging it with ſmoke, colouring it (as was ſuſpected) with herbs and noxious dies, and even adulterating the taſte and appearance with aloes [15]. And, as our firſt vines would be tranſplanted from Gaul, ſo were they in all probability thoſe of the Allobroges in Franche Compte. Theſe were peculiarly fitted for cold countries. They ripened even in the froſts of the advancing winter.

And

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And they were of the ſame colour, and ſeem to have been of the ſame ſpecies, as the black Muſcadines of the preſent day, which have lately been tried in the iſland, I think, and found to be fitteſt for the climate [16]. Theſe were pretty certainly brought into Britain a little after vines had been carried over all the kingdoms of Gaul, and about the middle of the third century; when the numerous plantations had gradually ſpread over the face of the latter, and muſt naturally have continued their progreſs into the former [17]. P. 321.

The Romans, even nearly to the days of Lucullus, were very ſeldom able to regale themſelves with wine. Very little was then raiſed in the compaſs of Italy. And the foreign wines were ſo dear, that they were rarely produced at an entertainment; and, when they were, each gueſt was indulged only with a ſingle draught. But in the ſeventh century of Rome, as their conqueſts augmented the degree of their wealth and enlarged the ſphere of their luxury, wines became the object of particular attention. Many vaults were conſtructed, and good ſtocks of liquor repoſited in them [18]. And this naturally gave encouragement to the wines of the country. The Falernian roſe immediately into great repute; and a variety of others, that of Florence among the reſt, ſucceeded it about the cloſe of the century. And the more weſterly parts of the European continent were, at once, ſubjected to the arms and enriched with the vines of Italy [19].

But the ſcarcity of the native and dearneſs of the foreign wines in that country, ſeveral ages before the conqueſt of Lancaſhire, had called out the ſpirit of in-

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vehtion, and occaſioned the making of factitious wines [20]. Theſe were ſtill continued by the Romans, and naturally taught to the Britons. And they were made of almoſt all the products of the orchard and garden, the pear, the apple, mulberry, ſervis, and roſe [21]. Two of them, therefore, were thoſe agreeable liquors which we ſtill denominate Cyder and Perry. The latter would be called Pyrum by the Romans, and is therefore called Perry or Pear-water by us. And the former aſſumed among the Romans the appellation of Sicera, which was colloquially pronounced by them Sidera, as the ſame pronunciation of it among the preſent Italians ſhews; and retains therefore the denomination of Cider among ourſelves [22]. And greatly as the Britiſh language, and through it the original Engliſh, are enriched by the Roman, both have naturally received a much greater ſupply from the colloquial and later Latinity, than from the written and the claſſical; many truly Roman words occurring in both, which either do not appear at all or appear very different in the preſent remains of the Roman.

P. 322.

[1] F. 161, Saville, and Def. of Engl. prefixed to Hollingſhead's Chronicle p. 110—111, Edit. 1586.—[2] See Arpennis in Spelman's Gloſſary.—[3] Bede's Eccl. Hiſt. lib. i. c. 1. Smith.—[4] Diodorus p. 350.—[5] Ibid.—[6] Oſſian vol. I. p. 116.—[7] Tacitus Agric. vit. c. 12.—[8] Vopiſcus in Probi vitâ c. 18, Gallis omnibus et Hiſpanis ac Britannis—permiſit, ut vites haberent vinumque

numque conficerent.—[9] Bede lib. i. c. 1.—[10] Spelman in Arpennis and Camden p. 319.—[11] Hollingſhead p. 110—111, and Malmesbury f. 161.—[12] Diodorus p. 350, and Strabo p. 269.—[13] Pliny lib. xiv. c. 1.—[14] Ibid. c. 3.—[15] Pliny lib. xiv. c. 6.—[16] Ibid. lib. xiv. c. 2.—They were tried, I think, ſome years ago at Bath.—[17] Solinus c. 21.—[18] Lib. xiv. c. 14.—[19] C. 6, 14, and 3.—[20] C. 16.—[21] Pliny lib. xiv. c. 16, and Palladius (Geſner, 1735) p. 993, 923, 924, and 901. —[22] Sicera—quæ—conficitur—pomorum ſucco: Hieron. tom. iv. c. 264. Paris, 1706.

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VI.

THE Britiſh horſes muſt have frequently run wild in the woods and mountains of the iſland, as thouſands at the preſent period expatiate in a ſtate of freedom along the ſouth of America, and numbers ſtill range along the Highlands of Scotland. And they are expreſsly deſcribed by the Romans, as at once diminutive in their ſize and ſwift in their motions [1]. This breed, therefore, ſtill ſubſiſts among us in the garrons or galloways of Scotland, the merlins or ponies of Wales, and the wild hobbies of ſome foreſts in England. And it appears to have been improved into the much larger race of our preſent horſes, by the introduction of a P. 323. bigger breed from the continent, and the careful incorporation of the foreigners and natives. The ſtandard of the Roman horſes was larger than that of the Britiſh [2]. And we find a foreign breed actually introduced into the iſland,

Sect. VI. iſland, and ſome of them actually carried into the moſt northerly parts of the Roman government, before the concluſion of the third century [3]. The Britons harneſſed their ponies to their cars, equipped them with bridles and girths, and mounted them with riders [4]. And the cavalry of their armies conſiſted equally of horſemen and charioteers [5]. But the Romans firſt taught us to cover the backs of our horſes with ſaddles. Thoſe in the coins of the Britiſh ſovereigns have not the ſmalleſt appearance of one. The Iriſh had none on their horſes even within theſe three or four centuries. And the Britiſh and preſent appellation of that covering is purely Roman, Sedile, Sadhell, or Saddle. In the annals of the Romans is it firſt mentioned. And the earlieſt perſon that is noticed in hiſtory to have uſed a ſaddle, is Conſtantine the Younger, the ſon and ſucceſſor of the great emperor, and in the year 340 [6]. The necks of the garrons, however, were frequently ornamented with collars, and their manes decorated with ſtrings, of Britiſh pearls [7]. And the bits were compoſed of bones taken from the large marine animals that frequented our ſhores, poliſhed carefully by the tool, and made nearly as bright as ivory. [8].

But, if the horſe was originally an inhabitant of Britain, the aſs was a foreigner. The Romans and Spaniards trafficked much in it; and it bore a conſiderable price among them [9]. And, though its milk was not applied among the former to the purpoſes of medicine, it was early converted to the uſes of vanity. In the higher period of their empire, it was ſuppoſed by the ladies to contribute much as a waſh towards whitening the

the ſkin: and Nero's conſort kept a train of five hundred milch-aſſes in conſtant attendance upon her, and had her bath continually repleniſhed with their milk [10]. And this uſeful animal appears to have been brought into Britain by the Romans, as the only Britiſh appellations of it, the Aſyn of the Welſh, the Armorican Azen, and the Iriſh Aſal ſuggeſt to us. But by the intermixture of them and the horſes another breed was formed in the iſland, ſharing uſefully the nature of both, and diſtinguiſhed by the Roman name of Myl, Mul, or Mule. And the Britons probably yoked their mules to their chariots, as the Gauls did theirs, and taught them all the various paces and ready obedience of their managed horſes [11]. Sect. VI. P. 524.

Our Britiſh dogs were once perhaps as frequently wild as our horſes, and have as great a propenſity to become ſo at preſent. In the deſert plains of Patagonia, where the European horſes have lapſed into barbariſm, the European dogs have equally lapſed with them; and are alſo found ſavage in the beautiful iſland of Juan Fernandes. And the very word Brach, which appears from Shakeſpear to have been uſed among us about two centuries ago even for a lady's dog, is evidently the ſame with the Iriſh Brech, and a Britiſh appellation for a wild hound [a]. Theſe, however, were early reclaimed by the Britiſh hunters, and their principles of courage and powers of ſagacity converted againſt their brethren of the foreſts. And all of them

[a] "Truth's a dog muſt to kennel; he muſt be whipped out, when the lady Brach may ſtand by the fire, and ſtink."

Sect. VI. particularly attracted the admiration of the naturaliſts and the regard of the ſportſmen among the Romans, before and after their conqueſts in the iſland. But the principal ſorts which ſeem to be natives of the country are theſe five, the great houſhold dog, the greyhound, the bulldog, the terrier, and the large ſlow hound.

The firſt is furniſhed with no ſagacity of noſe, but has an uncommon degree of vigour and courage. The faſt hold which it takes with its teeth, and the general ſtrength of its limbs, are incredibly great. And three of them have been always reputed a match for a bear, and four even for a lion. But we have ſome inſtances of their courage and vigour, that riſe greatly above this general eſtimate. Henry VII. is ſaid to have ordered one of them immediately to be hanged, in an exuberance of zeal for the pre-eminence of royalty, becauſe it had the hardineſs to engage ſingly with its lord and ſovereign, the lion. And in the reign of Elizabeth and the year 1572, my lord Buckhurſt, our ambaſſador at the court of France for a few weeks, one day produced an Engliſh maſtiff before Charles IX, which alone and without any aſſiſtance ſucceſſively engaged a bear, a pard, and a lion, and fairly pulled them all to the ground. Theſe dogs are equally diſtinguiſhed from others by a ſurly dignity of aſpect, a genuine good-nature, and an honeſt fidelity. We have a breed of them at Mancheſter, that is enormouſly tall and large; and children frequently ride upon them in play. And juſt ſuch an one is repreſented on this coin of Cunobeline, and a child appears mounted ſideways upon it; the

worl

worthy animal waving its tail, and turning up its face, with a ſenſible ſatisfaction in its rider [12]. Sect. VI.



The bull-dog enjoys equally a good noſe and a gallant ſpirit. And the latter is ſo peculiarly great, that this animal has perhaps a larger ſhare of courage than any other in the world. Its boldneſs is remarkably enterprizing, and its reſolution aſtoniſhingly determined. And the bravery of the breed has gained them the credit of a frequent mention, and the honour of an high commendation, in the records of antiquity. The Gauls even purchaſed them early for the uſes of war, and embattled them with their native dogs for the fight [13]. Thus the Colophonii and Caſtabalenſes formed the front-line of their armies with dogs; and, after Marius's defeat of the Cimbri in battle, their dogs defended the baggage for ſome time againſt the victorious Romans [14]. And when P. 325.

——— Atè, hot from hell,
Cried Havock, and let looſe the dogs of war

no longer in Gaul, the Romans exported them for the uſes of hunting [15]. Strabo expreſsly commends them in general, as incomparable hounds on the field [16]. And Gratius, who wrote in the days of Auguſtus, preſents us with this clear account of their value and uſe:

Quid freta ſi Morinûm, dubio refluentia ponto,
Veneris, atque ipſos libeat penetrare Britannos?
O quanta eſt merces, & quantùm impendia ſupra,

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Si non ad ſpeciem mentituroſque decores
Protinus! Hæc una eſt catulis jactura Britannis.
Ad magnum cùm venit opus, promendaque virtus,
Et vocat extremo præceps diſcrimine Mavors,
Non tunc egregios tantùm admirere Moloſſos [17].

But can you waft acroſs the Britiſh tide,
And land undangered on the farther ſide,
O what great gains will certainly redound
From a free traffick in the Britiſh hound!
Mind not the badneſs of their forms or face:
That the ſole blemiſh of the generous race.
When the bold game turns back upon the ſpear,
And all the furies wait upon the war,
P. 326. Firſt in the fight the whelps of Britain ſhine,
And ſnatch, Epirus, all the palm from thine.

Claudian particularly celebrates their activity and courage in the attack of the bull:

Magnaque taurorum fracturæ colla Britannæ,

——— The Britiſh hound,
That wrings the bull's big forehead to the ground [18].

And Symmachus, the cotemporary of Claudian, mentions ſeven Iriſh bull-dogs, Septem Scotici canes, as then firſt produced in the Circus at Rome to the great admiration of the people; who were ſo ſtruck with their ferocity and boldneſs, the two characteriſtick qualities of this ſpecies, that they univerſally imagined them to have been brought over in cages of iron [18]. James the Firſt is alſo known to have ſingled out one of his fierceſt and ſavageſt lions in the Tower, and to have turned

turned him looſe upon a couple of our bull-dogs; curious to obſerve how far their ſpirit and activity extended. And, to the aſtoniſhment of the whole court, the dogs ſhewed no ſigns of apprehenſion, did not decline the combat, and even provoked it; ſprung upon the lion, engaged him cloſely with an equal courage, and at laſt, in ſpite of all his efforts, maſtered him, and threw him on his back. Sect. VI.

The greyhound was originally denominated by the Britons either ſimply and moſt commonly the Grech, Greg, or Dog, which the mode of liquifying the g into y among the Britons or Saxons has now ſoftened into Grey, or leſs frequently but more particularly the Vertrag, Ver Trache, the eager or ſwift dog [19]. This elegantly molded ſpecies of our hounds was as much eſteemed by the Romans for its fleetneſs, as the former was admired for its bravery; but was not, like that, peculiar to Britain. It was a native equally of the iſland and the continent, and therefore was ſometimes denominated by the Romans the Gallick hound, and ſometimes ranked among the hounds of the Britons [20]. Martial extols the honeſt diſintereſtedneſs of the dog in the following couplet:

Non ſibi, ſed domino, venatur Vertragus acer,
Illæſum leporem qui tibi dente feret [21];

For thee alone thy greyhounds chace the prey,
And bring to thee th' untaſted hare away.

Nemeſianus, who wrote near the cloſe of the third century, mentions them by a Roman appellation exactly equivalent to the Ver Trache of the Britons, and ſhews the fondneſs of his countrymen for them:

Sect. VI. ——— *Catulos* diviſa Britannia mittit
Veloces, noſtrique orbis venatibus aptos [22];

P. 327. Be thine the greyhounds of the Britiſh race,
And taſte improved the pleaſures of the chace.

And Gratius has given us a ſtrong commendation of their ſwiftneſs, and a good general deſcription of their nature; in which it incidentally appears that the Romans painted them:

—— Si — juvat compellere Dorcas,
Aut verſuta ſequi leporis veſtigia parvi,
— — — — — —
———*Pictam maculâ* Vertraham dilige *falsâ*.
Ocyor affectu mentis pennâque cucurrit;
Sed premit inventas, non inventura latentes
Illa feras —— [23].

—— Would you chace the deer,
Or urge the motions of the ſmaller hare,
Let the briſk greyhound of the Celtick name
Bound o'er the glebe, and ſhew his *painted* frame.
Swift as the wing that ſails adown the wind,
Swift as the wiſh that darts along the mind,
The Celtick greyhound ſweeps the level lea,
Eyes as he ſtrains, and ſtops the flying prey.
But ſhould the game elude his watchful eyes,
No noſe ſagacious tells him where it lies.

There is a fourth breed of our dogs, which equally appears to be the production of the iſland. That is the race of our little terriers, ſo uſeful in the deſtruction of the weezle and polecat of our woods. And

theſe

theſe and other claſſes of our woodland vermin, without them, would have multiplied to an exceſſive degree in the country, and have proved a great annoyance to the poultry-yards and hare-parks of the Britons. The terrier, therefore, was neceſſary among us in that period. And it actually appears to have been then in the iſland. It is evidently deſcribed in the poems of Oppian, who lived in the days of Severus, and preſents us with this circumſtantial account of it; Sect. VI.

Εϛι δε τι σκυλακων γενϵ αλκιμον ιχνευϛηρων, P. 328.
Βαιον, αϛαρ μεγαλης ανϛαξιον εμμεν' αοιδης·
Τϒς τραφεν αγριαι φυλαι Βρεϛανων αιολονωϛων·
Αυϛαρ επικληδην σφας Αγασσαιϒς [a] ονομηναν.
Των ηϛοι μεγεθϵ μεν ομοιϊον ϵϛιδανοισι,
Λιχνοις, οικιδιοις, τραπεζηεσσι κυνεσσι,
Γυρον, ασαρκοϛαϛον, λασιοϛριχον, ομμασι νωθες,
Αλλ' ονυχεσσι τοδας κεκορυθμενον αρϛαλεοισι,
Και θαμινοις κυνοδϒσιν ακαχμενον ιοφοροισι.
Ρινεσι δ' αυϛε μαλιϛα τανεξοχϵ εϛιν Αγασσευς,
Και ϛιβϒι παναριϛος· επει και γαιαν ιονϛων
Ιχνιον ευρεμεναι μεγα δη σοφϵ, αλλα και αυϛην
Ιδμων ηεριην μαλα σημαινασθαι αϋδμην [24].

A ſmall bold breed, and ſteady to the game,
Next claims the tribute of peculiar fame,
Trained by the tribes on Britain's wildeſt ſhore,
Thence they their title of Agaſſes [a] bore.
Small as the race that, uſeleſs to their lord,
Baſk on the hearth and beg about the board,

[a] A Gaſt or A Gaſs (as Kiſt, the ſame word, is alſo Kis) ſignifies merely The Dog.

Sect. VI.

Crook-limbed, and black-eyed, all their frame appears
Flanked with no fleſh, and briſtled rough with hairs;
But ſhod each foot with hardeſt claws is ſeen,
Its kind protection on the beaten green;
Fenced is each jaw with cloſeſt teeth around,
And death ſits inſtant on th' inflicted wound.
Far o'er the reſt he queſts the ſecret prey,
And ſees each track wind opening to his ray:
Far o'er the reſt he feels each ſcent that blows
Court the live nerve, and thrill along the noſe.

This is a very minute deſcription of a Britiſh dog. And thoſe two particular ſtrokes in it, the crookedneſs of the limbs and leanneſs of the body, plainly appropriate it to our preſent terrier [25].

To theſe we may ſubjoin another breed, which ſeem
P. 329. to have been equally original inhabitants of the iſland, and are now almoſt peculiar to our own pariſh. This is the fine old hound of Mancheſter, which is ſo ſtrikingly diſtinguiſhed above every other in the kingdom by the peculiarities of its aſpect and frame. And it was clearly the curious original, from which the many ſtriking and pictureſque touches in theſe well-known lines of Shakeſpear were immediately tranſcribed.

HIPPOLITA.

I was with Hercules and Cadmus once,
When in a wood of Crete they bayed the boar
With hounds of Sparta; never did I hear
Such gallant chiding. For, beſides the groves,
The ſkies, the fountains, every region near,
Seemed all one mutual cry. I never heard
So muſical a diſcord, ſuch ſweet thunder.

THE-

THESEUS.

My hounds are bred out of the Spartan kind,
So flewed, ſo ſanded; and their heads are hung
With ears that ſweep away the morning dew;
Crook-kneed and dew-laped, like Theſſalian bulls;
Slow in purſuit; but matched in mouth like bells,
Each under each. A cry more tuneable
Was never hollowed to nor cheered with horn
In Crete, in Sparta, nor in Theſſaly.

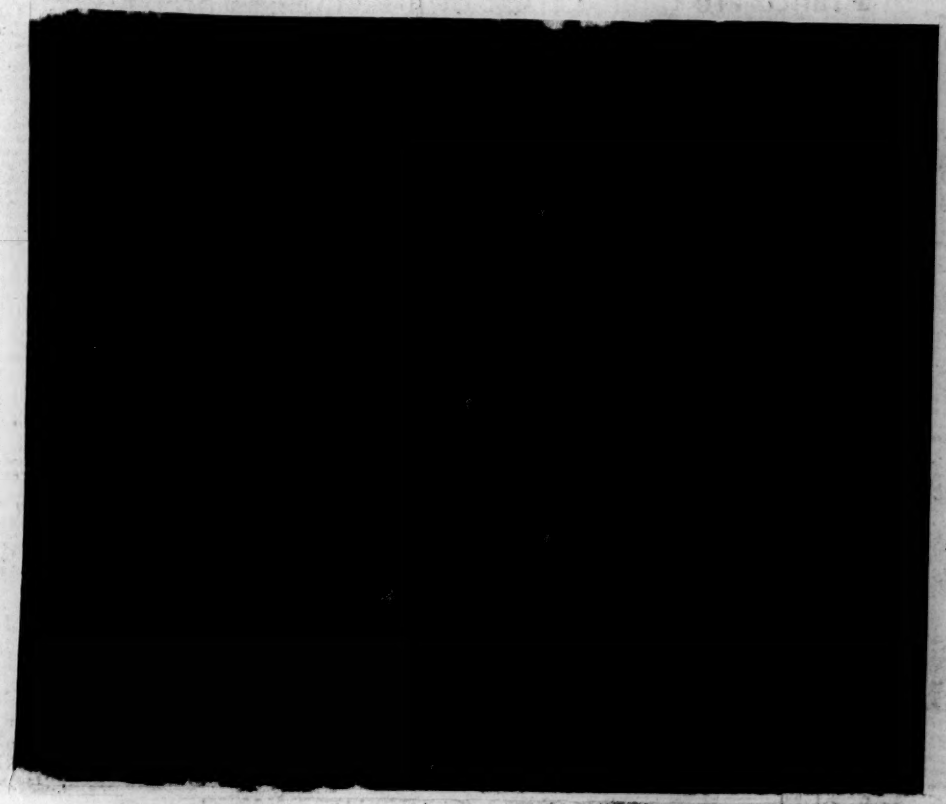
This delineation is evidently taken from the life. And the largeneſs of the chaps and the dapples of the body, the ſweeping ears and cheſt, the crooked knees, deep note, and ſlow motion, are all ſuch clear and characteriſtick particulars as concur only in the Mancunian hound. The breed was in all probability once known in every part of the iſland. Near the cloſe of the laſt century it was confined to one or two counties in the ſouth-weſt, and to Mancheſter and its vicinity [26], It now ſurvives only in the latter. And the great ſize and preſent fewneſs of this remarkable race pretty loudly proclaim them to be natives of the iſland, and the laſt periſhing remains of a Britiſh breed within it. Once loſt in the north, the dog ſtill continued in the ſouth, and had there the honour to be delineated by the juſt bold pencil of a Shakeſpear. And it was firſt introduced into Mancheſter again from the ſouth, and bears therefore among us the expreſſive appellation of the Southern hound. At Mancheſter it was noted by the obſerving eye of our poetical chorographer, Drayton, ſo early as the beginning of the laſt century; and in his rough [illegible] dancing numbers is

P. 330.

Sect. VI. is thus ſtrongly characterized as one of the illuſtrious peculiarities of Lancaſhire;

> And for the third, wherein ſhe doth all ſhires exceed,
> Be thoſe great race of hounds, the deepeſt-mouth'd of all
> The others of this kind which we our Hunters call;
> Which from their bellowing throats upon a ſent ſo roare,
> That you would ſurely thinke that the firme earth they tore
> With their wide yawning chaps, or rent the clouds in ſunder,
> As though by their lowd crie they meante to mocke the thunder [25].

And being lately carried from us into many of the neighbouring diſtricts, and even into ſome of the ſouthern counties, it there retains the note of its recenter deſcent in its newer appellation of the Mancheſter or Lancaſhire hound. But it has been long neglected by careleſſneſs or deſign. Its characteriſtick bulk has been gradually diminiſhing for ſome time. And this old and venerable breed is dwindling away into little more than a larger generation of harriers. To preſerve, however, what nothing but the pencil can, and ſo perfect the account that I have given of this hound, I have here added a view of one of them, which was taken a few years ago from the life and in full proportion, and has been reduced into miniature for the preſent work by the ſame perſon who made the drawings for the former edition, that example of a ſtrong and extenſive genius un-depreſt by poverty, and yet almoſt loſt in obſcurity, the modeſt Mr. Clarke of Salford.



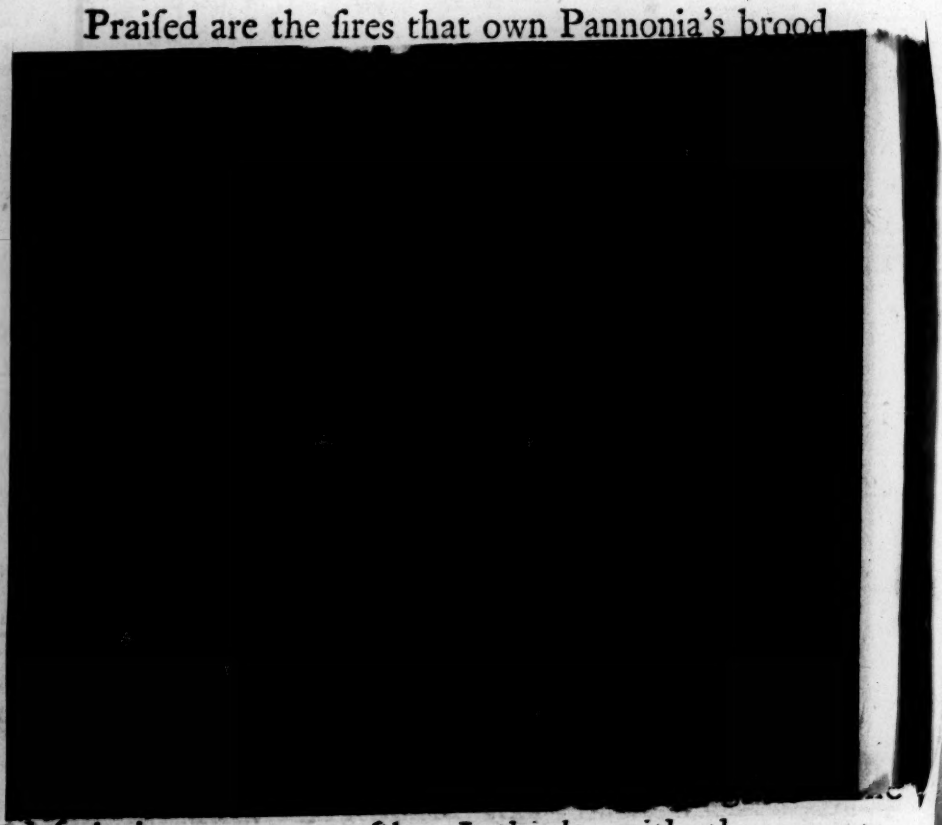
Theſe were ſome of the original hounds of the iſland. And the Romans ſeem to have introduced into the one, and to have added to the other, the preſent breed of our common ſpaniels and harriers. The former carries evidently the ſignature of its origin in the ſingularity of its name; the appellation of Spaniard being a ſufficient indication of its country, and the Roman termination, Hiſpaniolus or Spaniol, a full declaration of its Roman introducer. And the ſame race of our dogs is probably meant by the ſame denomination in theſe lines of Nemeſianus,

Nec

Sect. VI.

Nec tibi Pannonicæ ſtirpis temnatur origo,
Nec quorum proles de ſanguine manat IBERO [27],

Praiſed are the fires that own Pannonia's brood



deſcription agrees exactly, I think, with the common harrier:

Quin & Tuſcorum non eſt extrema voluptas
Sæpe canum; ſit forma illis licèt obſita villo,
Diſſimileſque habeant catulis velocibus artus,
Haud tamen injucunda dabunt tibi munera prædæ;
Namque & odorato noſcunt veſtigia prato,
Atque etiam leporum ſecreta cubilia monſtrant [29]:

Nor on the file of hunters laſt is found
The merit, Tuſcans, of your native hound;

What

What though their form be ſhagged with roughening hairs, Sect. VI. P. 331.
Nor one faint ſemblance of the greyhound wears,
Still will the table thank their uſeful care,
Served with the frequent banquet of the hare;
They ſnuff her footſteps on the ſcented mead,
They round her mazes to her ſecret bed.

And from the union of theſe and our Mancheſter dogs, I ſuppoſe, was that race of harriers originally generated, which is as remarkable for beagles as the other is for hounds, and almoſt equally confined to Mancheſter. Theſe are evidently the great hounds in miniature, preſerving on a ſmaller ſcale and in fainter colours all the ſtriking peculiarities of their ſize, their aſpect, and their note. And they have hitherto eſcaped the particular obſervation of the curious, becauſe they were placed in the immediate neighbourhood of the others. The brightneſs of the ſun throws every leſſer luminary into ſhade. And, had the greater breed been now loſt in Mancheſter, as it has lately been in the ſouth, and as, before the preſent hiſtory was publiſhed, it ſeemed likely to be in two or three generations amongſt ourſelves; theſe large and remarkable beagles would have appeared with peculiar luſtre, and been conſidered equally by the hiſtorian and the naturaliſt, at preſent, as the valuable and only repreſentatives of our antient hounds.

Sect. VI. [1] Dio p. 1280.—[2] Ibid.—[3] Oſſian vol. I. p. 115, The ſteeds of the Strangers.—[4] Pegge's Coins 4—C; 5—2 and 3, and 6—2, and Camden's 2—9 and 32.—[5] Cæſar p. 87, and Mela lib. iii. c. 6.—[6] It is then called a Sella, a name exactly equivalent to Sedile or Saddle.—See Ware's Antiq. (Harris) p. 160, and Top. Hib. p. 738. Sellis equitando non utuntur.—[7] Botlaſe's Coins N° 12, 19, 20, and 22, and Oſſian vol. I. p. 11.—[8] Oſſian ibid., Strabo p. 307, and Solinus c. 22.—[9] Pliny lib. viii. c. 43.—[10] Ibid. lib. xi. c. 41.—[11] Claudian p. 244. Elzevir.—[12] Def. of Engl. prefixed to Hollingſhead's Chron. p. 231, 1586, taken from Caii opera, Jebb, p. 19. But the matter is evidently a little miſrepreſented in both. They extend the king's order to all the maſtiffs in the realm; when the nature of the caſe, and the correſpondent order concerning the falcon, ſhew it to have been confined to one of them.—And ſee Pegge's Coins 4—5. This coin was firſt engraved by Dr. Pettingall from Mr. Duane's collection.—
P. 332. [13] Strabo p. 305.—[14] Pliny lib. viii. c. 40.—[15] Strabo p. 305.—[16] Ibid.—[17] Gratii Cynegeticon p. 26. London, 1699.—[18] De Laud. Stil. lib. iii. and Symmachus lib. ii. Ep. 77.—[19] The ſame as Ger Brache. So Duro-briv-æ, Brig-e, and Duro-trig-es, one word varied into Briv, Brig, and Trig.—[20] Ovid's Canis Gallicus in Met. lib. i. and Gratius's Inconſulti Galli in b. I. 194, both compared with Nemeſianus.—[21] Lib. xiv. E. 200. [22] Cynegeticon p. 123.—[23] Ibid. l. i.—[24] Ibid. Camden p. 190. has ſtrangely given this paſſage to our preſent

preſent gaze-hound. The mere reading of the words is ſufficient to ſhew the falſeneſs of the application. — [25] And all the diverſion, that even the fox afforded in the eighth century, ſeems to have ariſen only from un-earthing it. Aſſueſcant pueri (ſays Alcuinus) — non vulpium fodere cavernas, non leporum fugaces ſequi curſus, Malmesbury f. 13.—[26] Aubrey's Mſ. in the Muſæum Oxford, and Polyolbion p. 134, 2d part. — [27] P. 123.—[28] B. i. l. 370.—[29] P. 117. Sect. VI.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

THE BRITISH PROVISIONS AND RECREATIONS BEFORE AND AFTER THE ROMAN ARRIVAL—THE WOODS, MOSSES, AND WILD BEASTS—THE STREETS, BUILDINGS, TRADES, &c. OF MANCHESTER—AND THE BRITISH MARRIAGES, BURIALS, LETTERS, LANGUAGE, AND MILITARY ART.

I.

P. 333. IN the whole round of intellectual entertainments, few things carry ſo agreeable an appearance to the curious mind as the hiſtory of human manners. And that lower ſpecies of patriotiſm, which ſhoots up inſtinctively in every breaſt, makes it particularly pleaſing to view our own national cuſtoms genuine as they riſe in our annals, and to ſee thoſe accidental combinations of ideas or rational modes of opinion, which prevailed in the more diſtant ages of our fathers, faithfully repreſented in the mirrour of hiſtory. Nor is this ſatisfaction confined to their ſublimer exertions of the underſtanding, their theories of political ſcience, or their principles of taſte in literature. It is even better

felt on the ſurvey of their little faſhions and fancies in the more characterizing ſcenes of lower life, in the exhibition of their private manners, and the detail of their domeſtick œconomy. Sect. I.

The proviſion for the table among the original Britons was taken chiefly from their herds of kine, their goats, ſheep, deer, and hogs [1]. Their droves of the laſt muſt have furniſhed them, as their brethren the Gauls and Spaniards were furniſhed [2], with a great variety of diſhes. The Gauls produced the largeſt and beſt ſwines-fleſh that was brought into Italy [3]. And the more northerly of them ſupplied the whole compaſs of Rome and the greateſt part of Italy, in the days of Auguſtus, with gammons, hogs-puddings, ſauſages, and hams [4]. But to theſe the Britons muſt have added ſome others of the iſland beaſts, and ſeveral of the iſland birds. P. 334. The former ſhall be ſpecified hereafter. And the latter ſeem to have been the duck, teal, widgeon, and ſwan; the crane, ſtork, buſtard, capercalze, and cock of the wood; the woodcock, quail, ſnipe, and heathcock or grouſe; and the lark, the quoiſt or ſtock-dove, and others. Theſe are all natives of the iſland, as either the appellations of them in the Britiſh language, or the incidental notices of hiſtory [5], ſuggeſt to us. And none of them appear to have been prohibited, as ſome certainly were, by caſual cuſtoms or religious obligations. The crane and the ſtork, once familiar to our tables upon great entertainments, and the indigenous inhabitants of our country, are now known to us only by relation. The former was common in Kent during the ninth century, among the mountains of Wales in

Sect. I. the tenth, and in the fens of Lincolnſhire, one of the iſles of Sylley, and various parts of Scotland, to the beginning of the laſt. And both of them were reſidents in Ireland at the cloſe of the twelfth; the ſtorks however being very rare there, and all black; but the cranes ſo numerous, as frequently to be ſeen in flocks of an hundred together. The Buſtards alſo (or, as in the Britiſh mode of variation they were popularly called in the North, the Guſtards) are pretty frequent in Ireland to this day; were found, though rarely, in the Mers of Scotland within theſe two centuries, and on the plains of Lindſey in Lincolnſhire within one and a half; and ſtill continue equally rare on Newmarket and Royſton heaths and the downs of Salisbury. Theſe birds are ſcarcely able to raiſe themſelves from the ground becauſe of their bulkineſs, being even obliged to run againſt the wind, and beat their pinions, before they can take a flight; and are equally ſlow in their motions afterwards. And for both reaſons they are very ſhy, approachable by the fowlers only in covered carts; and are reckoned a very excellent diſh in ſeaſon. The capercalze or caperkelly, or, as its appellation ſignifies in Erſe, the hobbie of the woods, ſeems to have been ſo called exaggeratingly from its ſize, being about the bigneſs of a turkey; and is therefore, like the buſtard, frequently denominated a wild turkey in Engliſh. This was once aſſuredly common to all the iſland, but from its feeding on the tender tops of fir-branches, and loving high and ſolitary mountains and woods, has now for ages been peculiar to thoſe of the Highlands. And it was even there, and even two centuries ago, confined

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to the firwoods of Roſs, Lochaber, and other moun- Sect. I.
tainous parts of the country, being then highly prized for the delicate flavour of its fleſh; and is at this day in ſtill higher eſtimation becauſe of its additional rarity. But the cock of the wood, which has been recently confounded with the capercalze, and even by our Britiſh zoologiſt himſelf, though it is ſtrikingly diſtinguiſhed by its inferiour ſize, the feathery covering of its legs, and its ſcarlet eyebrows, is about the bigneſs of a peacock, and is actually mentioned by Giraldus Cambrenſis under the name of a ſylveſtris pavo or peacock of the woods. And it was once, like the capercalze, an inhabitant of England in all probability, as it was very common in Ireland during the twelfth century, and in the Highlands during the ſixteenth; having gradually retired from England as it is now retreating from Ireland, on cutting down the woods that ſheltered it; and is now very rare even in the latter and the Highlands, but much valued for the uſes of the table [5]. The markets of Rome, in the reign of Veſpaſian, were ſupplied with geeſe even from Picardy and Flanders, and the flocks travelled all the way on foot thither; a much longer expedition for theſe birds than what has ſo often been admired among ourſelves, their yearly journeys from Lincolnſhire to London; and, when any of them tired, they were removed into the front, and ſo puſhed on by the advance of thoſe behind [6]. And the Cheneros of Britain, moſt probably the Gooſander of the preſent day, was particularly eſteemed by the Romans as a dainty, and preferred by them for the table to moſt of the animals in the iſland [6].

Sect. I.

But this Britiſh bill of fare was greatly enlarged by the Romans. And the intimate connection of the provincials with them, and their faithful imitation of the Roman manners, muſt have naturally diſſolved the obligations, which the influence of accidental opinions had preſcribed to their tables. The declenſion of the druidical religion, and, what would neceſſarily precede it, the relaxation of its practical rigours, would remove the reſtraints which the prejudices of national faith had impoſed upon their palates. And geeſe, hares, and hens were no more prohibited to be eaten. The practice of cramming the latter was originally begun at Delos. But, being forbidden by a law at Rome a little before the third Punick war [7], they were afterwards fattened with food ſteeped in milk, and even rendered more agreeable to the palate [8]. And the expedient of caſtrating the cock in order to improve its fleſh ſeems to have been entirely a Roman invention, and was plainly introduced into Britain by the Romans, the victim of barbarous luxury being ſtill denominated among us by his Italian appellation of Capon [9].

P. 335.

Nor were the original prohibitions of the Britons confined entirely to theſe. They extended equally to the finny tribes, that inhabited their rivers and frequented their ſhores [10]. And, when any object has been employed in the miniſteries of religion, it has naturally ſuch an odour of ſanctity thrown over it, as muſt prevent it from being uſed in the common offices of life. Thus the hare, being made uſe of by the Britons in that curious inquiſition into futurity which has always made a part of every merely human religion, was therefore interdicted

terdicted the table. Thus also the goose and hen, which were equally interdicted the Britons, in all probability therefore were equally employed in augury among them. And their abstinence from fish seems to have resulted from the same principle. They exalted their rivers into divinities, and made the turbulent ocean around them an object of adoration. And some remains of the worship of both have continued to the present times, in the practices which the Scotch have preserved among their sequestered mountains and islands. The Highlanders to this day talk with great respect of the genius of the sea; will not bathe in a fountain, lest the elegant spirit that resides in it should be offended and remove; and never mention the water of rivers without prefixing to it the appellation of Excellent [11]. And in one of the western islands the inhabitants retained the custom to the close of the last century, of making an annual sacrifice to the genius of the ocean. A quantity of ale having been prepared by a general contribution against All-Saints day, and the whole body of the islanders being assembled on the shore, the occasional priest of the festival walked up to his middle in the sea, bearing a full cup in his hand; invoked the deity by the title of Shony or Water, supplicated his kindness towards them, and poured the liquor in libation to the god. And then they all concluded the anniversary with feasting, dances, and songs [12]. This was the reason probably, why the Britons never fed upon fish. The same inventive spirit of religion, which stamped divinity upon rivers and the ocean, which offered a sacrifice to the sea, and feared to offend the

Sect. I.

Sect. I. elegant genius of a fountain by bathing in it, would, in the full height of the ſuperſtition, naturally conſider the ſcaly inhabitants of the ſea and rivers as the little naiads of both, and as ſharing a part of their divinity with them. And in the interiour parts of the Highlands, where original cuſtoms are preſerved the longeſt, and the lower ranks of the people ſubſiſt only on a little oatmeal, milk, and blood drawn from their living cattle and boiled into cakes; even in ſuch circumſtances of diſtreſs for the neceſſary proviſion of life, the fiſhes of their brooks and lakes are ſeldom or never eaten by the natives to this day [13].—But theſe were now laid open to the ravages of hunger and luxury among the provincials. Under the ſhelter of the prohibition they had continued for ages in peace, and multiplied into infinite numbers [14]. And they were now firſt purſued into their watery element, and firſt received their particular appellations. Hence the claſs of our fiſhes is ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed above the other ranks of our animals, by the much greater frequency of Roman-Britiſh denominations among them. The Minnow, Gudgeon, Trout, and Pearch; the Conger, Barbel, and Bream; and the Carp, Mullet, and others; were now taken from the channels and banks of our rivers. The Tunny, Sole, Salmon, and Ray; and the Cockle, Muſcle, and Oyſter; were now caught among the ſeas and ſhoals around us. And all made their appearance on our tables. The Britiſh oyſter was deſervedly famous among the Romans, and even as early as the reign of Veſpaſian thought worthy to be carried into Italy [15].

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The beſt were then gathered from the ſhore of Kent, being denominated the oyſters of Rutupis; and were of the ſame ſpecies probably, and collected from the ſame places, as thoſe of Folkſtone at preſent, which Mr. Twyne about two centuries ago commended above all the reſt in the iſland, and therefore reaſonably argued to be the genuine favourites of the antients [16]. And the Romans firſt taught us the art of fattening our oyſters in beds, and of feeding our fiſhes in ponds; thoſe for the former being invented about ninety years before Chriſt, and conſtructed on the ſhore of Baiæ, and large reſervoirs being immediately made by others for the latter [17]. Sect. I.

But the Romans increaſed the variety of the Britiſh proviſions, not only by the introduction of forbidden animals to the table, but by the importation of foreign ones into the iſland. Theſe ſeem to have been rabbits, pheaſants, cuckows, and pigeons, partridges, plovers, turtles, and peacocks. And the perdix or partridge, the pluvialis or plover, the turtur or turtle, and the pavo or pea, all declare their origin in their names. The peacock was probably brought into Europe from the Eaſt-Indies, where it is univerſally common; but muſt have been introduced in ſome very early period of time, ſince even Pliny ſpeaks of it only as an European. And it was a diſh of conſiderable repute among the Romans, though it was firſt placed upon the table by Hortenſius the Orator about ſeventy years before Chriſt, in a ſupper which he gave to the ſacerdotal college [18]. The rabbit was originally a native of Spain and its adjoining iſlands, and began to be brought into P. 336.

Sect. I. Italy in the days of Auguſtus [19]. And, denominated Cuniculus by the Romans, it therefore received the appellation of Kunigl and Conifl among the Bretoons, Kuningen among the Welſh, and Kynin and Kuinin with the Iriſh [20]. The cuckow juſt fledged was reckoned by the Romans of the firſt century, to excel every other ſpecies of birds in the fine taſte of its fleſh [21]. And its Roman name of Coccyx, remaining among us, ſhews it to have been brought into the iſland by the Romans. Here it is not conſidered as a bird for the table, but has been eaten by a few curious adventurers in feaſting, and is ſaid to be a delicate diſh. And the Italians retain the fondneſs of their anceſtors for it to this day. The domeſtick pigeon was once equally a ſtranger to Aſia and Britain [22], and beſpeaks its introducers into the latter by the name of Klommen, which it bears in the Welſh, of Kylobman and Kolom in the Corniſh, and Kulm or Kolm in the Iriſh and Armorick. And the Phaſiana or pheaſant was originally derived from the banks of the Phaſis in Colchos, was carried into Italy before Agricola's proconſulate among us, and appears plainly from its appellation to have been brought into Britain by the Romans [23].

[1] Cæſar p. 89, b. i. c. 1. ſ. 2, and Howel Dha L. 2. c. 26. a. 7.—[2] Varro de re ruſticâ lib. ii. c. 4. and Strabo p. 293.—[3] Varro ibid.—[4] Strabo ibid.—[5] Oſſian p. 58. and 145. vol. I. and p. 223 vol. II.—And ſee Top. Hib. p. 706 for Grutæ or Grouſe; Howel Dha p. 25, b. i. ch. 10. ſ. 2. and note 22, Polyolbion p. 107 (pt. 2),

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D. of Eng. in Hollingſhead, p. 34, and Leſlæi Hiſt. 1675, p. 24, for cranes; Smith's Cork vol. ii. p. 329, Polyolbion p. 113 (pt. 2), Boethius Scot. Deſ. 1576. fol. 7, and Leſlæi Hiſt. p. 24, for buſtards; Top. Hib. p. 705 and 706, for cranes and ſtorks; Leſlæi Hiſt. p. 24, and Birt's Letters p. 169, for the capercalze; and Top. Hib. p. 706, Pennant's Tour p. 278, Harris's Ware p. 172 and Smith's Cork vol. ii. p. 328, and Leſlæi Hiſt. p. 24, for the cock of the wood.

Mr. Pennant in his Scotch Tour ſays thus: "Cock "of the wood—formerly was common throughout the "Highlands, and was called Capercalze and Auercalze, "and in the old lawbooks Capercally" (p. 278—279). But biſhop Leſley has accurately diſtinguiſhed one from the other. And Mr. Pennant has totally omitted the real capercalze, as the author of the letters from the Highlands has equally omitted the cock of the wood, or confounded it with the black cock (ſee him p. 169). The biſhop has noted all three. In Roſſiâ (ſays he)—, Loquhabriâ, et aliis montanis locis, non deſunt abietes, in quibus avis quædam rariſſima, capercalze, id eſt, ſylveſter equus, vulgò dicta, frequens ſedet, corvo illa quidem minor [The biſhop is greatly erroneous here in the ſize of his capercalze], quæ palatum edentium ſapore longè gratiſſimo—delinit. Victitat ex ſolis abietis extremis flagellis. *Alia avis eſt etiam* in his regionibus numeroſa, *ſuperiore minor, hirſutis pedibus, palpebris rubricantibus*; noſtri *gallum teſquorum* dicunt. *Eſt et alia* nuſquam niſi in teſquis victitans, faſiano illa quidem minor, ſed colore, atque partim ſapore, haud diſſimilis; noſtri *nigrum taſcorum gallum* appellitant. This laſt is

Sect. I. the black grouſe of our mountainous heaths in the north of England, though mentioned in Birt's Letters as peculiar to the Highlands.—

[6] Pliny lib. x. c. 22.—Anſerini generis (ſays Pliny) ſunt chenalopeces, et, quibus lautiores epulas non novit Britannia, Chenerotes, fero anſere minores. The Cheneros was not the wild-gooſe, being expreſsly diſtinguiſhed from it. And yet it was of the gooſe-kind. It was moſt probably the Gooſander, which correſponds exactly with the only mark in this deſcription, in being leſs than a wild-gooſe. It is generally about four pounds in weight, while that is ſeven. And it is, what none of the kind are beſides, of a beautiful aſpect. The reſt would repel, while this would provoke, the appetite of luxury or hunger. The head and upper part of the neck are of a ſhining green, the body is variegated with white and black, and the feet are a fine red. It is found in Lincolnſhire &c.—[7] Pliny lib. x. c. 50.—[8] Ibid.—[9] Martial lib xiii. E. 63 and 64. and Columella p. 634. Geſner.—And the Romans had hen-coops. They were firſt invented in Italy, and were very common in the days of Agricola: Pliny lib. x. c. 21. See P. 337. two antient repreſentations of a Roman hen-pen in Montfaucon's Ant. Expl. tom. ii. plates 63. N° 3. and 64. N° 1.—[10] Dio p. 1280.—[11] Macpherſon's Introduction to the Hiſt. of Great Britain and Ireland p. 163—164—[12] Harris's W. Iſlands, Ed. 2, p. 28—29.—And Shony is the ſame word as makes the Britiſh names of ſome rivers in theſe iſlands and on the continent, the Sena or Shann-on of Ireland, the Seine of France, the Senney of Brecknockſhire, and the Seny of Leiceſterſhire,

Sect. I.

ſhire, which all ſignify only water.—[13] Birt's Letters vol. ii. p. 121.—Mr. Macpherſon, with his uſual unhappineſs of argumentation, contends in p. 163—164 againſt the notion of the Britons worſhipping rivers and the ſea, in direct oppoſition even to his own evidence, and in full contradiction to the cuſtom of the weſtern iſlanders and the teſtimony of Gildas. I mention not, ſays the latter, montes ipſos, aut colles, aut *fluvios*—, quibus divinus honor a cæco tunc populo cumulabatur (c. 2).—Mr. Macpherſon alſo informs us in p. 163, that the Highlanders ſpeak with great reſpect of the Spirit of the Mountain. But he argues, notwithſtanding, that the Britons never worſhipped mountains; though the Highland practice plainly ſhews that they did, and though Gildas here expreſsly aſſures us of the fact: *montes* ipſos, aut *colles*, quibus divinus honor—cumulabatur. And, if there were any wild beaſts that could be ſaid to be the peculiar and appropriate inhabitants of mountains, as fiſhes are of the ſea and rivers, the Britiſh abſtinence muſt have naturally extended to thoſe as theſe.—[14] Dio p. 1280.—[15] Pliny lib. ix. c. 54.—[16] Juvenal's fourth Sat. And ſee Lambard's Kent, 1596, p. 170.—[17] Pliny c. 54. lib. ix.—[18] Pliny lib. x. c. 20.—[19] Varro lib. iii. c. 12.—[20] Pliny c. 55. lib. viii.—[21] Pliny lib. x. c. 9.—[22] C. 29. lib. x.—[23] Lib. x. c. 48, and lib. xix. c. 4.

II.

THE face of the iſland, at this period, was everywhere tufted with large woods [1]. And ſome particular diſtricts of it were covered with immenſe foreſts. Three of theſe were diſtinguiſhed over the reſt by the wild extenſiveneſs of their range. One was in Scotland, and lined all the hills in the central parts of the Highlands [1]. Another was the great foreſt of the Coritani, which contained ſeveral towns and the ſeat of a whole nation within it, and ſtraggled over the five counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leiceſter, and Rutland, and even ſuch parts of Northamptonſhire as lie to the north of the Nen [2]. But the third was ſtill larger than either, and ſwept acroſs the ſouth of the iſland for an hundred and fifty miles together, ranging even from Kent into Somerſetſhire [3]. Theſe neceſſarily remained the ſecure harbours and great nurſeries of the many wild beaſts, which were then produced in the country. And the leſſer woods and foreſts of the kingdom would be perpetually repleniſhed from them. In this appearance of the iſland, the ſpirit of hunting which actuated the primæval Britons would be kept alive in the Roman, by the nearly equal frequency of the game in the woods, and the nearly equal neceſſity of preventing its increaſe upon them. And the beaſts, which roamed in the thickets, and were chaced by the hunters, ſeem to have been theſe.

P. 338. Branching horns of a moſt extraordinary ſize have been found in ſeveral parts of England and Ireland, and

ſome

ſome of them ſtill faſtened to the heads of their owners [4]. Sect. II.
And the diſcovery of theſe equally in both kingdoms, and the frequency with which they have been met with in both, ſhew the original proprietors to have been certainly inhabitants of the iſlands. The horns have been ſuppoſed by ſome, and are aſſerted by the tradition of Ireland, to be thoſe of an elk. But, as that animal appears from its Latin appellation among us to have never been a native of Britain, ſo are its horns very different in figure and much inferiour in ſize to theſe. Theſe appear plainly to be the relicks of deer. They are therefore the antlers of a large ſtout breed of them. And it muſt have been uncommonly large. Several of the horns were ſo tall, that the faireſt antlers of our deer at preſent would appear as inſignificant in the compariſon, as the young ſhoots of a fawn compared with the beams of a buck. And ſome of them branched out to ſo enormous a width, that the tip of the one was nearly eleven feet diſtant from that of the other [4]. This race is now loſt in Britain and Europe. But it ſtill ſeems to ſubſiſt in the Mooſe of America, and to have been originally frequent in the north of Germany; the horns of the former, and the antlers diſcovered in the Britiſh iſles, being nearly of the ſame ſtandard [4]; and the American mooſe and Scythian Tarandus deſcribed by the naturaliſts in the ſame manner. The former is ſaid by the moſt circumſtantial accounts of it to be about the ſize of a bull, and the latter about the bigneſs of an ox. That is aſſerted to have a neck reſembling a ſtag's, and this a head greater than a ſtag's and not unlike it.

And

Sect. II. And both are mentioned to have large branching horns, cloven hoofs, and ſhaggy hides [5]. Theſe appear to have been denominated by the Britons Seghs, Oxen, or Savage Deer, as Segh ſignifies the one at preſent, and in an old Iriſh gloſſary is interpreted the other [6]. P. 339. And a ſmaller breed of them, the ſame that are denominated the Grey-Mooſes or Wampooſes in America, actually continued in Ireland to the twelfth century: being deſcribed by an author, the cotemporary of Henry the Second, among the wild beaſts of the iſland; as ſtags little calculated for flight becauſe of their extreme bulkineſs, rather ſhort in the body, but greatly ſuperiour to all others in the largeneſs of their heads and dignity of their antlers [7]. The large black mooſe would naturally be the firſt deſtroyed. And the ſmaller would continue the longeſt, becauſe it could ſhelter itſelf the beſt.

Both, however, were only a peculiar ſpecies of our iſland deer. The common race were the large red ſort, which have horns much greater than our preſent bucks, are ſtill found wild in our own foreſt of Bowland and ſeveral other parts of Britain, and formerly, I believe, abounded in all our woods. And theſe were hunted by the Britons, in all probability, with that big bold dog which exiſts in Ireland at preſent, and is popularly denominated the Iriſh wolf-dog. Ireland, ſays an author who wrote two centuries ago, is not without wolves, or greyhounds to hunt them, that are bigger of bone and limb than a colt. Scotland, ſays another of the ſame period, in the firſt claſs of her hounds ranks a breed, which is ſuperiour to a yearling bull-

calf

calf in ſize, and uſed equally in hunting the ſtag and the wolf [8]. And the buck-hound of the Britons, like the dog of Ireland, was grey-coloured, long-bodied, and well-ſcented, active enough to run down and ſtrong enough to maſter a Britiſh ſtag [8]. Both are therefore the ſame with that Iriſh greyhound, for which particular court was made by a Spaniſh nobleman to Henry VIII, and a privy ſeal iſſued to the lord deputy and council of Ireland; and which was even ſollicited as the moſt acceptable of all preſents by the Great Mogul in 1617. And all are the ſame with that old greyhound of the Highlands, which is now become as rare among them, as the other is in Ireland, but was formerly in great repute for the magnificent ſtag-hunts of the chiefs; being very ſwift, bold, and large, very ſtrong and deep-cheſted, and covered with very long and rough hair [8].

But entirely different muſt have been the game of the Mancheſter hound. The uncommon length of its body, and the conſiderable ſtrength of its jaws, are evidently uſeleſs in its preſent courſes after the hare; as the bulkineſs of its frame, and conſequent ſlowneſs of its motions, equally diſqualify it for chacing the ſtag. And the race, which has been long dwindling at Mancheſter, from the great neglect and gradual extinction of it in the ſouth ſeems to have been equally dwindling there for ages, and in all probability before the ſtrain was re-introduced into Mancheſter. Large therefore and ſlow as the dog is at preſent, it was once conſiderably larger and ſlower. And its ſize has been ſtudiouſly diminiſhed among us, in order to increaſe its ſpeed. In this

Sect. II. this view of the hound, enormouſly tall and long, and uncommonly heavy and ſlow, we can find only one ſpecies of game that is rightly adapted to it. The boar, the wolf, and the ſtag are all too fleet for its motions. Its genuine object muſt have been ſome animal, that P. 340. was at leaſt as heavy and as ſlow as itſelf. And that could have been only the Britiſh Segh or Mooſe. In this, and only in this, deſignation of the dog, I think, all its remarkable qualities are properly combined together, and have all their adequate object. The great bulk of the game required a proportionate ſize in the hunter, as the ſtrength of the one muſt have been in ſome meaſure correſpondent to that of the other. The formidable armoury, which the ſegh carried about him in his branching antlers, required the ſegh-dog to be at once animated with a conſiderable reſolution for the attack, and furniſhed with ſtrong fangs for the hold. And, as the ſlowneſs of pace in the latter reſulted from the ſame cauſe with, and therefore was juſtly adapted to the ſame ſlowneſs in the former, ſo was it ſufficiently compenſated by the exhilarating tones of its mouth and the ſure ſenſibility of its noſe.

The wolf, which in ſome reſpects ſeems nothing more than a ſavager ſpecies of dogs, is therefore denominated Madre Allaidh or the wild hound by the Iriſh to the preſent day, and was actually employed as a dog for hunting by the original inhabitants of North-America. This animal is well known to have been harboured in England for ages after this period, even continued in Scotland to the commencement of the laſt century, and even remained in Ireland to the preſent [9]. And the boar is equally known

to

to have lived in our woods, being repreſented on a coin of Cunobeline under the ſhade of a tree, particularly celebrated in a Roman-Britiſh inſcription, and remaining with us ſeveral centuries after the wolf [10].—But our woods alſo bred a number of wild bulls at this period. The common cattle of the iſland, I ſuppoſe, muſt frequently have run wild along our heaths and foreſts; as the kine of Europe range freely in herds at preſent along the levels of Patagonia. And the wild cows and bulls of the country continued very frequent among us in the fourth century, and even for ſeveral ages afterward [11]. Theſe were merely of the uſual ſize, but all milk-white in their appearance, all furniſhed with thick hanging manes like lions, and almoſt as fierce and ſavage as they [12].—Nor were theſe the only beaſts of our woods. We had alſo a numerous breed of bears in them. And the hills of Portugal, the mountains of Spain, and the foreſts of Britain, all equally produced a variety of bears at this period [13]. Theſe continued in the north of England as late as the eighth century. And they ſeem to have remained in the ſouth even to the Conqueſt. When any one, ſays the Penitential of Egbert, ſtrikes a wild beaſt with an arrow, and it eſcapes and is found dead three days afterwards, if a hound, a wolf, a fox, or a *bear*, or any other wild beaſt, hath begun to feed upon it, let no Chriſtian touch it. The town of Norwich, ſays Doomſday, in the time of the Confeſſor furniſhed annually one *bear* to the king, and ſix dogs for baiting it [14].—And theſe inhabitants of our woodlands were chaced by the hounds which ſtill continue among us, and ſtill point out the

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Sect. II. original nature of their game in their appellations of Bear-dogs, Bull-dogs, and Wolf-dogs.

All animals were in a great degree, probably, civilized at their releaſe from the ark, and ſome of them carried equally tame by the firſt colonies into the weſt, and wafted in the ſame veſſels with their maſters into Britain. And there multiplying in conſiderable numbers, and roving into the woods for food, they were no longer converſant with man or ſubject to the uniform reſtraints of authority, and in the courſe of two or three generations would abſolutely ſink into ſavages. Such was probably the caſe, as the confinement in the ark for more than a year would neceſſarily have tamed in ſome degree the wilder, and have greatly civilized the gentler. This alſo explains that conſiderable difficulty in natural hiſtory, which is ſcarcely explainable on any other principle, the tranſportation of ſavage beaſts from the continent into diſtant iſlands [a]. And we know even the moſt civilized of all our domeſtick animals, our horſes, dogs, and kine, to have
P. 342. been carried into America, and there, in this manner and in a ſhort period, to have gradually fallen away from their former diſpoſitions, and become as ſavage as

[a] In the Genuine Hiſtory of the Britons Aſſerted, I have hinted at another ſuppoſition. And the reader may decide betwixt them. The Gauls about Calais, as I have obſerved, being accuſtomed to ſee this iſland daily from their own ſhores, "ſoon paſſed over in all probabi-"lity from mere motives of curioſity,—*perhaps ſtocked ſome of the* "*nearer woods with wild beaſts for hunting*, and ages afterwards ſettled "&c." p. 99.

moſt

moſt of thoſe which are peculiarly denominated wild beaſts. Sect. II.

All theſe were now caught for food and kept for diverſion by the Roman Britons. The bear was even tranſported into Italy, was baited publickly in the Roman ſhews, and furniſhed conſiderable ſport to the people [15]. And the bull, the bear, the boar, and the wolf muſt have been equally employed in the ſame ſervice by the Romans in Britain, and by their imitators the provincials. The baitings of wild animals were the favourite ſpectacles among the Romans; and thoſe of the bull and bear are the great diverſions of our dogs and populace at preſent. In ſome very antient conſtitutions of the Welſh it is expreſsly declared, that, of the nine ſorts of wild beaſts which were hunted, only three of them were baitable, and that the bear was one [16]. And, as I have lately ſhewn, Norwich was obliged by the Saxons to furniſh even the king with one bear annually, and ſix dogs for baiting it. For theſe exhibitions, edifices were conſtructed at Rome, of ſquared ſtone and in a magnificent ſtyle of architecture. And others were erected on the iſland, in an humbler ſtyle, and of the humbler materials of clay, chalk, gravel, and turf. Such are the great amphitheaters at Silcheſter in Hampſhire and Dorcheſter in Dorſetſhire, once aſcending in ſeveral rows of ſeats, and ſtill ſhewing a pit of nearly two hundred yards in circumference [16].

But the pleaſures of the chace were not the only recreations of the primæval Britons in the field. With a fondneſs for the exerciſe of hunting, they had a

Sect. II. taſte for the diverſion of hawking. And every chieftain among them maintained a conſiderable number of birds for the ſport. This appears from a curious paſſage in the poems of Oſſian, in which a peace is endeavoured to be gained by the proffer of a hundred managed ſteeds, a hundred foreign captives, and "a "hundred hawks with fluttering wing that fly acroſs "the ſky [17]." But hawking was ſcarcely known, even by relation, to the Romans of Veſpaſian's days. In Thraciæ parte ſuper Amphipolim, ſays Pliny in a curious paſſage, which is obſcured by the darkneſs of his own ideas concerning the thing related, homines atque accipitres ſocietate quâdam aucupantur: hi ex ſylvis et harundinetis excitant aves, illi ſuper-volantes deprimunt; rurſus captas aucupes dividunt cum iis: tra-
P. 343. ditum eſt miſſas in ſublime ſibi excipere eos; et, cùm tempus ſit capturæ, clangore ac volatûs genere invitare ad occaſionem [18]. And yet the diverſion appears to have been introduced among them immediately afterwards [19]. The Thracians and Britons were once the only followers of the ſport [20]. Among the former, it was purſued merely by a particular diſtrict of the country [20]. But, with the latter, it ſeems to have been univerſal among the barons, and to have been followed with ſpirit; as we find one of the moſt northerly chiefs, the private head of a clan, and an inhabitant of a country ill-adapted for the exerciſe becauſe of its hills, offering no leſs than a hundred hawks to the enemy. And, as the Romans adopted their own uſe of the bird from the Britons probably, ſo they greatly improved the Britiſh diverſion by the introduction of ſpaniels into

the iſland. In this ſtate it appears among the Roman Britons of the ſixth century. Gildas, in a remarkable paſſage of his Epiſtle, ſpeaks of Maglocunus on his relinquiſhing the ſphere of ambition, and taking refuge in a monaſtery; and poetically compares him to a dove, that haſtens away at the noiſy approach of the dogs, and with various turns and windings takes her flight from the talons of the hawk [21]. And in this ſtate hawking remained, the favourite recreation of our gentlemen for many ages; and the predominant ſpirit of incloſing, and the fabrication of light fowling-pieces, have not yet baniſhed it entirely from the kingdom [22]. Driven from the ſouth, and practiſed, I believe, in no one part of England at preſent, it has taken refuge in Scotland, and is ſtill kept up by the gentlemen of the Highlands [22]. Sect. II.

Such were the manly and military recreations of our Britiſh anceſtors. Such the Romans found among them. And they made an addition of three others.

The hare could never have been hunted in Britain before the Roman conqueſts. Previouſly to them, and for ſome time aſſuredly after them, it was, as I have already obſerved, a beaſt of augury among the Britons [23]. But, as their peculiarities of opinion were worn away by their commerce with their maſters, it loſt its importance in the ſcience of augury, and became as much expoſed to danger in Britain as its brethren were on the continent. This would naturally be the caſe with the animal. And it appears to have been actually ſo, from the repreſentations of hare-hunting which are made on ſeveral of the Roman-Britiſh remains among P. 344.

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us [24]. The Britons and Romans may even ſeem perhaps to have particularly cultivated this diverſion, and to have formed a remarkable ſpecies of harriers for the purpoſe. And the race remains at Mancheſter to the preſent moment.—When the great hound was loſt there many centuries ago, the name and the breed would ſoon be forgotten together. And, on its re-appearance from the ſouth, the ſeeming ſtranger aſſumed the denomination of the ſouthern hound. But it had probably been coupled with the common harrier before it was deſtroyed among us, and had left its progeny in the preſent beagle behind it. And the fact perhaps happened about the Roman period. As the mooſe-deer became gradually rarer, and was at laſt exterminated in our woods, the mooſe-dog would be found more and more uſeleſs in its original dimenſions and ſtrength. And, the hare becoming a principal object in hunting, the ſtrain would naturally be croſſed with the harrier, to reduce its ſize, augment its ſpeed, and yet preſerve its form and note. Hence aroſe probably the generation of our Mancheſter beagles, the exact miniatures (as I have formerly obſerved) of our large hounds. And when this had been done, when the only peculiarities of the dog, that were now of any moment in the eſtimate of a mere hunter, had been happily transferred to another, it would be thrown aſide, ſuffered to mingle caſually with every ſpecies, and ſo be gradually diffuſed and loſt. But it would naturally keep the ſame appellation in its diminiſhed ſtate, that it had borne before. And, when the parent breed became extinct, the new one would enjoy the denomination without a rival.

Hence

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Hence our Mancheſter beagles retain to this day the familiar and appropriate title of the Kibble-hounds; one equally confined as the race, and totally unknown among us as to its etymology or import. But the appellation is purely Britiſh, tranſmitted to us from our Britiſh anceſtors, and remaining at preſent in the language of Ireland. The terms Cuib and Gibne are both of them uſed by the Iriſh for their greyhound, and are evidently the ſame with our Kibble; as we have Kurak in Iriſh and Korug and Kurugl in Welſh for a Coracle, Kryd and Dyſgl in the latter for a cradle and a diſh, and Greideal in the former for a grid-iron. And the name, which is thus applied in Ireland and at Mancheſter to two ſuch different kinds of dogs as the beagle and the greyhound, properly ſignifies only a hound in general. Thus does the remarkable mooſe-dog of the Britons appear to have been diſtinguiſhed among them by the peculiar denomination of the Kibble. And the Mancheſter beagles preſerve to this moment the primary appellation that was given to the Mancheſter hounds. The latter were a new colony introduced into the pariſh from the ſouth, and ſome time after the extinction of its original number. And the former are therefore more diſperſed over the neighbouring country than they, and not marked, like them, with titles expreſſive of their derivation from Mancheſter.

The Spaniards uſed originally to diſlodge the rabbets from their holes, with wild African cats that had their mouths muzzled; but afterwards employed the ferret in the ſport [25]. And, when the Romans introduced the rabbet into Italy nd Br tain, they brought in the ſame

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cuſtom of attacking it with ferrets [25]. The principal reaſon for their introduction of the former into both, was the great pleaſure which they took in un-earthing it with the latter [25]. And the Britons adopted what the Romans practiſed; and have tranſmitted to us, their ſucceſſors of the preſent days, the Roman-Spaniſh diverſion, and the Roman-Spaniſh name of the animal employed in it; denominating the Viverra in the Welſh dialect Guivær, and in the Iriſh Fiſead or Ferret.

Cock-fighting is a recreation, which has been univerſally ſuppoſed to be the production of the Britiſh genius. But it was known to many of the antients, and introduced among us by the Romans. In the firſt century, a grand cocking was held every year in the city of Pergamus, cocks (according to the hiſtorian's expreſſion) being there matched as gladiators and exhibited as a ſpectacle [26]. Matches were very common with the Greeks, and not unfrequent with the Romans, in the third [27]. And they even laid conſiderable wagers on the iſſue of their battles [28]. The cocks that were produced in the iſland of Rhodes, about Tanagra in Bœotia, at Chalcis in Eubœa, and in the kingdom of Media, were ſuperiour in reputation to all others for their ſpirit and reſolution in the fight [29]. And the uncommon bravery therefore, which has always diſtinguiſhed our Britiſh breed, would ſoon induce the Romans, fond as they were of barbarous diverſions, to train them up for the pit, to direct their courage againſt their brethren, and arm them with artificial ſpurs. Theſe ſorts of exhibitions were leſs cruel in their nature,

ture, than their execrable ſhews of gladiators; and nearly the ſame in the ſcale of humanity, with their baitings of the wolf, the bull, the bear, and the boar. And, as more than one of the cities in Britain built a large amphitheater for the latter, ſo others of them would naturally erect a ſmall one for the former. One at leaſt ſeems to have been conſtructed for it. And that is the little circle of gravel and ſand, the carcaſe of a caſtrenſian amphitheater, as Dr. Stukeley calls it; which tradition points out as ſomething remarkable, and which lies remarkably placed upon an eminence, directly fronting the eye as we go from Sandwich to Richborough Caſtle, and looking down upon a marſhy level at preſent. Evidently too ſmall to have been deſigned for the greater exhibitions, it was moſt probably intended for the leſſer. And, conſidered either ſolely by itſelf or comparatively with the ſimilar conſtructions, it cannot, I think, have been any thing but a Roman cockpit. It never was half ſo large as the amphitheaters of Silcheſter and Dorcheſter, though theſe towns were merely the capitals of ſingle tribes and ſtipendiary, and Rutupæ was the metropolis of Britannia Prima, and a colony. The pits of the latter, as I have remarked before, are almoſt two hundred yards in circumference. And that of the former ſeems to the eye to be only about ſixty or ſeventy in the ſweep [30].

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[1] Strabo p. 305.—Richard p. 32, and Ptolemy, and b. I. ch. xii. ſ. 2.—[2] Richard p. 26.—[3] Richard p. 18. This wood, denominated Andred, was many ages afterwards

Sect. II. wards a hundred and twenty miles in length and thirty in breadth, commencing from the weſtern boundary of Kent, and running directly eaſt. See Saxon Chronicle A. D. 893, and Richard p. 18. Anterida.—[4] Phil. Tranſ. N° 227 (2), Leigh's Lancaſhire b. I. p. 62, and Ware's Antiquities, Harris's edit., p. 168.—[5] Pliny lib. viii. c. 34, Phil. Tranſ. N° 368 (1), and Smith's Cork vol. I. p. 139.—[6] Lhuyd under the word. And ſince the firſt edition I find that, in an Iriſh-Engliſh Dictionary publiſhed at Paris 1768, Segh is accordingly interpreted both an oxe and a hind of the mooſe-ſort.

P. 346. —The horn alſo of a rain-deer, ſaid by Leigh in Nat. Hiſt. p. 84. b. iii. to be found under a Roman altar at Cheſter, was moſt probably that of a mooſe.—[7] The paſſage has been entirely overlooked by all our writers. It is very curious and runs thus, Cervos præ nimiâ pinguedine minùs fugere prævalentes, quantoque minores ſunt corporis quantitate, præcellentiùs efferuntur capitis & cornuum dignitate (Giraldus's Top. Hib. p. 709).—And Bede, accordingly, in his very brief deſcription of Ireland, particularly mentions its deer as one of its moſt diſtinguiſhing peculiarities: cervorum capreârumque venatu inſignis (lib. i. c. 1).—[8] Stanyhurſt's Deſc. of Ireland in Hollingſhead's Chron. p. 19, and Leſlæi Hiſt. p. 13. — Offian p. 4 and 81 vol. I, and p. 110 vol. II; Pennant's Tour in Scotland p. 127 and 275; and Harris's Ware p. 166—167. —This dog was once aſſuredly common to the whole iſland, and ſeems from the following paſſage to have been ſo within theſe two or three centuries. "The fifth" (ſays Harriſon, enumerating our dogs) "is a *greyhound*,

"cheriſhed

" cheriſhed for its *ſtrength*, ſwiftneſs, and *ſtature*, com- Sect. II.
" mended by Bratius in his De Venatione, and not unre-
" membered by Hercules Stroza in a like treatiſe, but
" above all the others of Britain, where he ſaith, Et
" *magnâ ſpectandi mole* Britanni." See D. of B. in Hollingſhead p. 230, 1586.—[9] Camden c. 1279 and 1312 wolves are ſaid to remain in Ireland at preſent. But it is a miſtake: ſee Ware's Antiq. p. 165. and Smith's Kerry p. 173. The laſt wolf was killed in 1709. — [10] Pegge's Coins 2—1. And on a Roman altar diſcovered near Stanhope in the biſhoprick of Durham, 1748, was this ſignal inſcription, Silvano invicto ſacrum . . . . . ob Aprum eximiæ formæ captum quem multi anteceſſores ejus prædari non potuerunt . . . . . Phil. Tranſ. v. XLV. p. 173. — [11] Claudian de Laud. Stil. lib. v. &c. — [12] Boetii Scot. Reg. Deſc. fol. 6. and Leſlæi Hiſt. p. 18. — And hence is the popular ſtory of the fierce wild cow of Dunſmore in Warwickſhire, ſlain by Guy earl of Warwick. —[13] Claudian de Laud. Stil. lib. v. and Martial de Spect. E. 7. — [14] Egbricht's Penitentiale drawn up about 750, p. 138, vol. I. Concilia Mag. Brit. &c. Wilkins, and p. 777. Gale's Scriptores from Doomſday. — In Ray's Synopſis Method. Quadr., 1693, Mr. Lhuyd acquaints us, that in ſome antient laws and cuſtoms of the Welſh, now preſerved in MS. among them, there was one among other maxims of hunting, ſummam ſeu præcipuæ æſtimationis ferinam eſſe *urſi*, leporis, & apri; p. 214. And bears appear in Normandy and Scotland nearly to the conqueſt of England: ſee Gemeticenſis p. 667. Camden, and

Sect. II. Pennant's Tour p. 169.—[15] Pliny lib. viii. c. 36, and Camden p. 701.—[16] Ray's Synopſis p. 214.—See Itin. Cur. p. 155 and 170, and Phil. Tranſ. 1748 p. 603. —[17] Offian vol. I. p. 115.—[18] Lib. x. c. 8.—[19] Martial lib. xiv. E. 216. See alſo Oppian's Cynegeticks lib. i.—[20] Pliny lib. x. c. 8.—[21] Tete, ac ſi, *ſtridulo canum lapſu* aerem validè ſecantem, ſævoſque rapidi harpagones *accipitris* ſinuoſis flexibus vitantem,—rapuiſti—*columbam* (p. 20. Gale).—[22] In Maximâ Bibliothecâ Patrum tom. xiii. p. 85. Ep. 40. of Boniface, Ethelbert, king of Kent in the days of Ethelbald his brother king of England, deſires Boniface archbiſhop of Mentz to ſend him a brace of falcons, that were bold and taught enough to fly at cranes and bring them to the ground, as there were very few ſuch in Kent. And in Malmeſbury f. 27 we ſee Athelſtan requiring of the Welſh, Volucres quæ aliarum avium prædam per inane venari noſcerent.—See a further account of hawking in Spel-
P. 347. man's Gloſſary (Acceptor), who was ignorant of its true original. And ſee Howel Dha's Laws lib. i. c. 15. &c., where hawking appears to have been a favourite amuſement among the Britons of Wales in the tenth century; and Birt's Letters on the Highlanders v. II. p. 199, and Pennant's Tour p. 127, for its being ſo now among thoſe of Caledonia.—[23] Dio p. 1006.—[24] Batteley's Antiq. Rutup. p. 84. See alſo Dio p. 1010.—[25] Strabo p. 214, and Pliny lib. viii. c. 55.—[26] Pliny lib. x. c. 21. —[27] Columella (Geſner) p. 634 and 635. And Herodian has obſerved, that the two ſons of the Emperor Severus quarrelled about their cock-fights, δι'—αλεκτρυονων συμβολας, l. iii. c. 33.—[28] Rixoſarum avium laniſtæ,

laniſtæ, cujus plerumque totum patrimonium, pignus aleæ, victor gallinaceus puctes abſtulit (Columella p. 635). — [29] Pliny lib. x. c. 21. and Columella p. 634 and 635. — [30] See Itin. Cur. p. 119 and 156. Sect. II.

III.

THE aſpect of Lancaſhire, at this period, exhibited nearly the ſame ſylvan appearance as the general face of the iſland. It was in moſt places tufted with woods. And it was in many overſpread with foreſts. The ſix woods, that originally encircled the ſix fortreſſes of the primæval Britons, now ſpread at a greater diſtance about the regular towns which had been conſtructed near them. And the ſouthern diviſion of the county contained no leſs than five or ſix conſiderable foreſts within it. Thoſe of Pendle, Roſſendale, and Blackburne filled up nearly the whole of Blackburne hundred, ſpread over the now ragged ſides of thoſe moors, capped the now naked creſts of thoſe hills, and ſoftened the dreary aſpect of both [1]. The foreſt of Horwich poſſeſſed all the north-weſterly region of Salford hundred, extended probably into the limits of Layland, and was as late as the fourteenth century no leſs than ſixteen miles in circumference [2]. And that of Derbyſhire was ſo denominated, becauſe it ranged over a very large portion of Derby hundred; ſhooting out, even in the middle of the thirteenth century, from Sankey-water on the eaſt to Bickerſtaff and Aughton on

Sect. III. on the north, the river Alt on the weſt, and the Merſey on the ſouth [3].

P. 348. The leſs extended foreſt, in the center of which the Britiſh Mancenion and Roman-Britiſh Mancunium were erected, was ſtill diſtinguiſhed by its primitive appellation of Ardven, Arden, or great wood. This title was naturally given it by the firſt ſettlers in the vicinity of the pariſh. And it was as naturally retained by the ſucceeding generations of their deſcendants. The name, like many of the ſame nature in the kingdom, and like the denominations of moſt of the more remarkable objects within it, the rivers, the foreſts, and the towns, continued equally the ſame through the revolutions of the Saxon, Daniſh, and Norman ſettlements among us. And it appears upon the face of our records, even in the reign of Edward the Firſt, as the name of a conſiderable diſtrict in the pariſh; the boundaries of the preſent Clayton being deſcribed as beginning from HARDENE, paſſing along the margin of Droylſden, edging cloſely to the ground of Sinderland, and terminating at the demeſne-lands of HARDENE again [4].

This foreſt had now gradually receded on every ſide of Mancheſter, and given up its nearer ground to the dominion of the ſpade and the plough. But it muſt ſtill have curved about the town in a large amphitheater of woods, and maintained its hereditary poſſeſſions over the greateſt part of the pariſh. And it covered all the hills of Broughton and Blakeley. The former townſhip I have previouſly intimated, and ſhall hereafter ſhew, to have been all one foreſt to the time of the Conqueſt [5]. And the name of the latter is derived from

from its great thickets at the period of the Saxon eſta- Sect. III.
bliſhment among us. The Saxon Blac, Black, or Blake frequently imports the deep gloom of trees. Hence we have ſo many places diſtinguiſhed by this epithet in England, where no circumſtances of ſoil and no peculiarities of water gave occaſion to it; as the villages of Blackburne and Blackrode in Lancaſhire, Blakeley-hurſt near Wigan, and our own Blakeley near Mancheſter [5]. And P. 349.
the woods of the laſt were even ſeven miles in circuit, as late as the fourteenth century [6]. On the eaſtern ſide of the pariſh, the ſame Arden remained many ages afterward in the groves of Collyhurſt and Nuthurſt and the thicket of Bradford; the laſt being, even in the reign of Edward the Second, no leſs than a mile in circumference [7]. And on the ſouth it peculiarly retained the name of Arden for ages, as I have previouſly ſhewn; and was latterly broken into the thickets that gave denomination to Openſhaw, Blackbrook, and Blackſtakes, into Aſhton-hurſt and Heaton-wood, and the large grove that winded along the bank of the Merſey, and imparted the name of Hard-ey or Hardy to a range of meadows upon it [8].

Thus was the pariſh of Mancheſter overſpread at this period with woods. And no parts of it ſeem to have been free from the trees, but the cultivated area and the moſſes. The latter were that of Failſworth, and others. This exiſted in the earlieſt period of the Roman reſidence among us, as the road to Cambodunum puſhes directly acroſs the breadth of it. And ſome more muſt have exiſted with it. The ſame phyſical principles, that generated the moſs of Failſworth, would equally produce

Sect. III. produce others in the pariſh. And all of them, in the juſt eſtimate of reaſon, muſt be preſumed to have been equally prior with that to the ſettlement of the Romans at Mancheſter, except any of them can bring proof to the contrary. But only one of them can, which will be mentioned in a future volume. No traces of the plow, the ridge and the furrow, have been diſcovered in any; as have plainly been in one of the Yorkſhire and many of the Iriſh moſſes [9]. And, in ſome of the
P. 350. latter, have been found even the burnt ſtump of a large tree, and the remains of a wattled hedge; the latter ſtill ſtanding upon the ground under a depth of five or ſix feet, and the cinders and aſhes ſtill lying on the former at that of ten [10]. Nothing has been diſcovered in any but one of our moſſes, that even diſtantly beſpoke the previous reſidence of the Romans among us. And that of Trafford has been lately channelled from end to end by the Bridgewater canal; all are continually cut into for their turf, and have been for ages encroached upon by the plough; and nearly the whole compaſs of Houghs, and abſolutely the whole of Failſworth, moſſes have been recently converted into cultivated lands.

The ſand and loam of a wooded hollow ſometimes received the waters of an obſtructed brook, or drank in the ſhowers of the winter, till the ſoil became ſoft and ſpongy, and the trees were unable to ſupport themſelves upon it. And ſometimes the trees were thrown or cut down, as many in our Mancheſter moſſes appear to have been actually cut, and originally obſtructed the paſſage of the waters. Thus that particular region of Failſworth moſs which was traverſed by the Roman road,

road, and was evidently the boggieſt part of it, being now reduced nearer to the original level of the ground, has a conſiderable deſcent to it on either ſide. And the higheſt part of Chatmoſs about two centuries ago, upon an extraordinary diſcharge of the waters, appeared to be a valley traverſed by a brook [11]. Every drain for the moiſture being thus choaked up, and the place conſtantly ſupplied with a recruit of it, the principles of putrid vegetation would begin to act, and a rank harveſt overſpread the face of the whole. This dying every year, and being every year ſucceeded by a freſh crop, a coat would gradually riſe upon the ſurface, and in a century form a conſiderable cruſt. This is found upon our moſſes two, three, or four yards in thickneſs. And, as the great body of ſtagnated water was fed with ſupplies from the original current, additional influxes, or both, the moraſs would extend itſelf, deſert the natural or artificial hollow in which it was originally formed, and creep over the neighbouring lands. Thus the waſte of Chatmoſs began at firſt in the cavity of a little valley, and afterwards uſurped upon the loftier grounds about it; a large portion of it now lying higher than many parts of the neighbouring country, and the center being higher than the reſt. And, in theſe efforts, the impriſoned waters have ſometimes ſo violently diſtended the coat, that the texture of it has been broken, the country has been deluged with an inky torrent, and the fields overſpread with a deſtructive ſlime. Thus our own Houghs moſs, or, as in peculiar eminence it was denominated among us, the moſs, burſt on New-year's-day in 1633, ſpread a

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Sect. III. deep bed of filth over the lands, and poiſoned all the fiſh in the rivulets [12]. And, upon any long continuance of rain at preſent, the cruſt of Chatmoſs is viſibly lifted up by the waters, and even riſes ſo conſiderably as to intercept ſome proſpects acroſs it.

Nor is the firmer ground of our black moors any thing elſe in reality, than ſuch an extent of moſſy ſoil diſcharged of its waters. This has been dried by the accidental diverſion or emiſſion of the feeding rill, or had all its moiſture exhauſted by the luxuriant harveſt above. And on Walkden and Kearſley moors have been found innumerable trees, firs, birches, quickens, and oaks, buried in the foreign ſoil; and, directly under it and even four yards below the ſurface, a lank graſs has been diſcovered in plenty, lying upon the natural mold.

Theſe active principles would neceſſarily operate with more or leſs vigour from the beginning. But they muſt have acted with the greateſt, during the wood-
P. 352. land and ſolitary condition of the pariſh, before the coming of the Romans into it. And no other period of its hiſtory could have given them half ſuch ſcope and liberty. The woods were not a little contracted in their ſize, a town had been long fixed in the center of them, and the reſt of our Arden was frequently traverſed by the inhabitants, their flocks, and their herds, at the period of the Saxon ravages in Lancaſhire. And the woods were more contracted, the town that had been fixed in the center was more populous, and the remains of our Arden were much more frequently traverſed, at the later period of the Daniſh devaſtations among us.

Such

Such was the aſpect of our more immediate precincts, during the period of the Roman reſidence at Manchester; the ſofter ſoil of many of our vallies being converted into impaſſable moraſſes, and the firmer of the hill and plain generally covered with woods. And, in theſe or the neighbouring thickets of the county, was bred nearly all that variety of wild beaſts which I have ſhewn to be natives of Britain, the ſegh-deer, the wolf, the bull, and the boar. The large branching horns of the ſegh have been oftener found in this, than any other county of the kingdom. One of them was dug up about ſeventy years ago at Larbrick near Preſton, having the entire head of the ſtag, and even the bones of the neck, adhering to it. A ſtill larger was found equally with the head, a few years before in a moſs at Meales. And a third was fiſhed out of the ſea in 1727 near Cartmel [13]. The wolf was once very common in Northumberland, Yorkſhire, and Derbyſhire; has given the appellation of Wulf-crags to a long range of precipices in our foreſt of Wierſdale; and half a century before the Conqueſt was frequent in that of Roſſendale [14]. The wild bull had its reſidence in our Mancunian Arden; and even continued in one part of it, the thickets of Blakeley, as late as the fourteenth century [15]. And the boar roved at liberty over the woods of the pariſh, for many centuries after the Roman departure from the ſtation; conſigned the appellation of Barlow or the Boar-ground to a diſtrict in the ſouth-weſterly parts of it, and retained its haunts in the wilds of Blakeley within theſe three or four ages [16].

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[1] Monaſticon v. i. p. 658, and copy of Records in the Britiſh Muſæum N° 2063, Harleian MS. p. 176. —[2] Kuerden, folio, p. 278, and Spelman in Leuca from Ingulphus.—[3] Kuerden, folio, p. 238.—[4] A record in Collins's Peerage vol. vii. edit. 2d. p. 24.—[5] See b. iii. hereafter.—And ſee a miſtake in Camden p. 616. concerning the etymology of Blackburne. The river there has no more title than the Thames to the appellation of Black becauſe of its waters.—[6] Kuerden, folio, p. 278.—[7] Ibid.—[8] Records ibid.—[9] Camden c. 850. and Mortimer's Husbandry Part II. p. 27.—[10] Nat. Hiſt. of Ireland by ſeveral hands, 1726, p. 163, and O Halloran's Introduct. to the Hiſt. and Ant. of Ireland, quarto, 1772, p. 134. And burnt wood has been taken with fir-cones out of the Yorkſhire moſſes, thoſe near Leeds; Thoresby p. 142.—[11] Camden p. 611. and Leland vol. vii. p. 41. The words of the latter are very remarkable: In the very tope of Chawmoure [called before Chateley More] where the moſſe was the higheſt and brake, is now a fayre playn valley as was in tymes paſt, and a rill rennith in it, and peces of ſmaull trees be found in the botome of it.—[12] H's MS. p. 26. And Leland thus of Chatmoſs: Chateley More a 6. myles in lengthe ſome way braſt within a mile of Morley Haul, and deſtroyed moche grownd with moſſe ther aboute, and deſtroyed moche freſhe watar fiſhe thereaboute; firſt corruptyng with ſtinkyng watar Glasbroke, and ſo Glasbroke carried ſtinkyng watar, and Merſey corruptyd carried the roullyng moſſe, parte to the ſhores of Wals, parte of [to] the Iſle of Man,

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Man, and ſome into Ireland (vol. vii. p. 41.)—[13] Leigh b. i. p. 62 and 63. and b. iii. p. 184 and the plate, and Phil. Tranſ. 1731 and 1732. p. 257.—The horns dug up at Larbrick were forty and forty-one inches and a half in length, were ſeven or eight round, twenty-three and a half diſtant from each other at the tips, but thirty-five about the middle, and had ſeveral branches ſhooting out in different directions from them (ſee the plate Tab. 5th in Leigh). And the horns found at Meales were even as large again (ibid. B. iii. p. 184). The brow-antlers in the latter were bigger than uſually the arm of a man is, the beams were near two yards in height, and betwixt the two oppoſite tips of the horns, which was the fartheſt diſtance, were two yards likewiſe (ibid. B. I. p. 63). The former were ſoft and pliable when they were taken out of the earth, but afterwards grew hard and firm (ibid. B. i. p. 62).—[14] Sax. Chron. p. 113, Camden p. 58 and 420, and Monaſticon p. 658. vol. i.—[15] Leland vol. vii. part I. p. 42. Hearne.—[16] Leland ibid.— Sect. III.

To take off the ſeeming ſtrangeneſs, which the notices in this ſection concerning the Lancaſhire moſſes may carry to ſome of my readers, it may be proper to obſerve, That the ſame cauſes have operated in a ſtill more extraordinary manner, where their inſtruments have been greater and their ſcope of action larger. Where the former have not been merely brooks, or the latter confine to ſmall valleys; but when rivers have concurred in the production, and the ſcene of operation has been the levels of our eaſtern coaſt; the effect has been much more aſtoniſhing, than any which I have

Sect. III. here recorded. On deepening Wisbech river in 1635, at eight feet below the channel the workmen came to another, and found no leſs than ſeven boats in different parts of it. And, at Salters Lode, the adventitious earth was obſerved about 1660 to be ten feet deep, over a firm mooriſh ſoil of three in thickneſs; to be ſucceeded by a bluiſh ſort of earth, which was judged to be original ſilt, and by another layer of mooriſh ſoil below it, as thick as the former, but much firmer and clearer; and to be followed by a whitiſh clay, which appeared to be the natural ground. But, in digging through the moor at Whittleſea about the ſame time, at the depth of eight feet was found a perfect mold, and ſwaths of graſs lay as they were mowed upon it. And, at Skyrbeck ſluice near Boſton, the labourers ſunk ſixteen feet, and then diſcovered even a ſmith's forge, furniſhed with all the requiſite tools, horſeſhoes, and other implements of iron. See Dugdale's Hiſt. of Embanking, 1662, p. 178, &c.

IV.

AS the modes of Roman civility prevailed among the Britons of Lancaſhire, more and more of their free villains would be induced to quit the barons in the remoter neighbourhood of Mancheſter, and ſettle with their brethren in the town. And, in the peculiar circumſtances of the Britiſh ſtates, the current of the Roman manners would neceſſarily increaſe in its power and expand in its courſe, as it rolled down the three

centuries

centuries and a half of the Roman reſidence among them. The dimenſions of Mancheſter muſt therefore have been enlarged, by an acceſſion of inhabitants and an addition of buildings. And to the one original ſtreet, which extended along the road of the Romans, others would be gradually annexed, and ſhoot out on the eaſt, the weſt, and the north. Six or ſeven years ago was diſcovered a pavement near the ſouth-weſtern extremity of the ſite, extending more than two yards in breadth, and ſeeming to tend nearly parallel with the original ſtreet, the line of the road to Ribcheſter. And this would naturally communicate with it by a croſs one. It actually communicated by no leſs than three. One was laid along the margin of the foſs; and the remains of it, a narrow cauſey about three feet in breadth, have been recently dug up for ſeveral yards by the gardiner. Another was lately found along the northern hedge of the firſt great garden; and a third about an equal diſtance from both, remaining only about half a yard in width. And ſeven or eight years ago was diſcovered a fourth, ſituated almoſt as much to the eaſt as the former was to the weſt of the principal ſtreet, and lying three yards in breadth and three quarters in depth. This commenced near the northern hedge of the Caſtlefield and in the middle of the private gardens, ſtretched obliquely acroſs that and the neighbouring one, pointed leſs ſlanting acroſs the lane, and carried a direction towards Aldporton Fold. And the three connecting ſtreets, on the weſt of the Ribcheſter road, would in all probability be anſwered by as many on the eaſt, and the town be modelled into a figure ſomewhat compact

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Sect. IV. and ſquariſh. The great body of the buildings, then, occupied only the ſpace which is now taken up with one great and ſeveral little gardens, which is bounded by the high bank, the ſtationary foſs, Aldport-lane, and a large garden, and contains about ſeven acres and a half within it. And all this ground appears to be ſtrikingly diſtinguiſhed from that to the north of it, by the plainly factitious nature of its ſoil, and the diſperſed rubbiſh of antient buildings along it.

In the intervals formed by the interſection of theſe ſtreets, ſome vacant area would be aſſigned for the markets of the town. Theſe were firſt introduced into Britain by the Romans. And they are therefore diſtinguiſhed by the Roman appellation of Margaids and Marchats among the Iriſh and Armoricans. Market-
P. 356. places are expreſsly declared by Tacitus to have been originally laid out in the towns, which Agricola cauſed to be built in Britain [1]. And in the ſtate of Lancaſhire under the Romans, when there were only eight within its ample dimenſions, and theſe diſperſed at a diſtance over the face of the county, every one of them would neceſſarily have a market, and Mancheſter become a market-town from the firſt moment of its commencement.

But the ſtreets of it were all narrow. The firſt and original one being conſtructed along the margin of the Roman road, the breadth of the latter would be the width of the former. That I have previouſly mentioned to have been only about five yards. And the others would naturally not be laid of a greater, and probably not of an equal breadth. The ſtreets even of Rome were

were very narrow in general; and, when Nero rebuilt the city after the dreadful conflagration in 64, many of the Romans complained of his conduct, alledging them to be too much widened, and the heat of the ſun indiſcreetly let in upon them [2]. And thoſe of Silcheſter have been meaſured by the tracks in the corn and the foundations on the ſides, and appear to have been generally ſeven or eight yards only in breadth [3]. Such, therefore, were our own at Mancheſter: and the ſame inconvenient narrowneſs has continued in them nearly to the preſent century. Sect. IV.

They were all paved, however. And the Romans, who frequently ſpread a coat of ſtones over the face of their roads, would not neglect to ſpread it where it was much more requiſite, along the ſtreets of their towns. The firſt and principal one muſt have been paved from the beginning, as the Roman road was, along the borders of which the buildings extended. And all the remnants of ſtreets, that have been diſcovered within the area of the town, were regular courſes of pavement.

Though the ways of Rome were ſo narrow, yet the buildings were remarkably lofty. They generally roſe ſix, ſeven, or eight ſtories in height. They were permitted by Auguſtus, even in his reſtraint upon the popular humour, to aſcend no leſs than ſeventy feet. And they were allowed by Trajan, even in his greater reſtraint of it, to mount as high as ſixty [4]. But the elevation of our houſes at Mancheſter was much better proportioned to the width of our ſtreets. And they were pretty certainly raiſed only a ſingle ſtory above the ground-floor, as P. 357.

ſuch

Sect. IV. such was the model of our buildings for many centuries afterward.

Bricks were very probably made by the inhabitants of the antediluvian world, and were actually uſed in the firſt ages of their deſcendants [5]. The art, therefore, would be carried away by the ſeveral parties from Babel, upon the diſperſion of the whole, into all the countries which they ſucceſſively planted. And it accordingly appears to have been known to the earlieſt inhabitants of the eaſt and weſt in general [6]; and probably was, though it does not appear, to the coloniſts of Britain in particular. It was to their brethren of Gaul. And our preſent appellation of Brick is derived to us from our Britiſh anceſtors [6]. The Romans ſeem to have had a brick-kiln at every ſtationary town. Their clay is generally found to be well tempered and well kneaded, beautifully red, and compleatly burnt. And their bricks were about ſixteen Engliſh inches and three quarters in length, and eleven and a quarter in breadth [7]. But the Romans of the firſt century never raiſed any ſtructures of theſe materials, becauſe they wildly ſuppoſed a party-wall, that was merely the length of their bricks in breadth, to be unequal to the ſupport of a ſtory [8]. The Mancunian houſes, therefore, could not have been conſtructed of bricks. They were compoſed
P. 357. of wood. Such univerſally were the buildings of the primitive Britons, as I have ſhewed before. And ſuch remained the houſes of the Mancunians, below the æra of the Reſtoration. Bricks as well as ſtones, however, would be uſed in the foundations of the ſtructures and the funnels of the chimnies. And the latter are evi-

dently

dently a Roman addition to the Britiſh buildings. The round hole in the roof of the houſe, ſuch as we ſee to this day in the cabins of the Iriſh and Scotch, ſtill continued, and merely an opening in the ceiling, as the fire was ſtill kindled in the middle of the hall [9]; but was elegantly altered into a cupola-chimney by the Romans [10]. This, however, would naturally be confined to the chiefs. And in theſe northern parts of England, and even in our neighbouring county of Cheſter, as late as the commencement of the laſt century, the common people had their fire in the midſt of the houſe, and no chimney above to diſcharge the ſmoke [10]. Sect. IV.

The covering of edifices in the north of Europe was generally made of long reeds, about the period of the erection of Mancheſter [11]. But the Romans ſeem to have introduced the uſe of ſtraw for this purpoſe. And the buildings of the town were generally covered with it. Such was the roofing in London within theſe three centuries, and in Mancheſter within two. But ſome of the more reſpectable ſtructures would probably be roofed with ſcindulæ, ſhingles, or boards. Theſe are the common covering in all our American colonies. Theſe were equally ſo amongſt ourſelves in former ages, and continued even in Edenborough beyond the beginning, and in moſt parts of Cheſhire below the middle, of the laſt century [12]. And they were generally uſed even at Rome for the long period of nearly five ages [13]. But either theſe houſes afterwards, or others at the ſame time, were probably covered with tegulæ, the Saxon tægles, and the

Sect. IV. the Armorican teolen, or tiles; which were firſt invented at Cyprus, were after the ſhingles the general roofing in Rome [14], and appear ſufficiently from their name to have been brought into Britain by the Romans. And there is alſo another kind of covering, which is now nearly univerſal in Mancheſter, and was firſt introP. 359. duced into it about this period. This is that light-coloured ſpecies of flaky ſtone, of which we have numerous quarries in England, and which we ſtill denominate by its Britiſh appellation of Sglatta or ſlate. Pliny mentions it as a white ſtone, that was divided by the Celtæ more eaſily than wood, and ſawed by them into thin plates for tiles [15]. It was firſt divided into plates and firſt applied as tiles within the northern regions of Gaul, was ſo uſed very commonly in the firſt century [15], and ſtill retains among the French its Celtick denomination of Eſclate or ſlate. And, as this uſe of it was introduced into Britain from Gaul, ſo is it found among us during the period of the Roman ſtay in the iſland. Some Roman buildings in Britain appear from the remains that have been diſcovered about them, to have been actually covered with ſlates. And they were faſtened to the roofs with nails of iron, hooked, long, and large [16].

The windows ſeem generally to have been compoſed of paper [17]. Properly prepared with oil, this forms no contemptible defence againſt the intruſions of the weather, and makes no incompetent opening for the admiſſion of the light. It is ſtill uſed by our architects for the temporary windows of unfiniſhed houſes, and not unfrequently in the precincts of Mancheſter for the regular

gular ones of our workſhops. And it is even uſed for the houſes in many of the towns of Italy, to the preſent moment. But ſome of the principal buildings we may reaſonably ſuppoſe to have been windowed in a ſuperiour manner. None of them, however, were fitted with glaſs. None in Europe were formed of glaſs at this period. The Romans and Britons of it never once thought of this ſeemingly obvious, and certainly very agreeable, application of the metal. And that tranſparent foſſil, Lapis Specularis or Iſing-glaſs ſtone, which was firſt uſed in the windows at Rome about the reign of Auguſtus [18], and became very common before the cloſe of the firſt century [19], was in all probability never introduced into the buildings of Britain. The ſuperiour windows of Mancheſter could be furniſhed merely with lattices of wood or ſheets of linen; as theſe two remained the only furniture even of our cathedrals, nearly to the eighth century [20]. And the lattices continued in ſome of our meaner towns of Lancaſhire to the eighteenth; and in many diſtricts of Wales, and many of the adjoining parts of England, are in uſe even to the preſent moment [21].

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One or more wells would be ſunk about the town, for the neceſſary ſupply of water to the inhabitants. And one has been diſcovered, placed immediately on the outſide of it, and ſunk for ſeveral yards in the rock. It was found about eight or nine years ago, upon the erection of the little alehouſe which ſtands oppoſite to the gate of Caſtlefield. On opening the ground, an hole appeared in the rock about ſix feet ſquare, and entirely filled up with rubbiſh. This was made ſo ſoft and ſludgy by

Sect. IV. by the ſpring below, that a ſtaff was eaſily thruſt into it to the depth of four or five yards, and gave a temporary vent to the waters. And three coins of braſs were found in it, and a piece of thick ſhort gold-wire. The latter had not the good-fortune to meet with any man of taſte, and was ſold to an unknown perſon for thirteen ſhillings. And, of the former, two appeared to be loſt when an inquiry was firſt made concerning them, and the third was in great meaſure ruined by the ruſt. No inſcription could be perceived upon it, and even no traces of one diſcerned, except ſuch as fancy will perpetually ſuggeſt to the judgment on the examination of faded remains. Wells ſo ſquared as this was in the opening, and lined with hewn ſtones at the ſides as this with the native rock, have been diſcovered at Durnomagus or Caſter near Peterborough,
P. 361. at Procolitia or Carrabrugh in Cumberland, and Derventio or Little-cheſter near Derby [22]. And the water of this and the other wells were probably raiſed, either by the aſſiſtance of a pole playing upon a tranſverſe beam and loaded with a weight at the handle, by a common wheel, or a little windmill. All theſe machines appear to have been early in uſe among the Romans [23]. And they ſeem to have been ſimple and obvious in their conſtruction.

To mark the flight of time by external and ſenſible repreſentations, and ſo diſtinguiſh the paſſing hours into regular periods and ſtages, was firſt the work of HIM who appointed the revolutions of the night and day, the returns of the Sabbath, the variations of the moon, the viciſſitudes of the ſeaſons, and the courſes of the ſun.

ſun. But, to aſcertain the uniform progreſs of the day by the uniform motion of ſhades or ſubſtances, is an invention as curious in its nature as it was probably late in its diſcovery. And yet it was made before the days of Ahaz the monarch of Judæa [24], and above two hundred years before the firſt inhabitation of Lancaſhire. This primitive dial ſeems to have been merely a diagram, which was deſcribed upon the ſteps of Ahaz's palace, and marked the advance of the day by the ſhade of ſome neighbouring body moving over the face of it. And the contrivance ſeems to have remained the only dial of the eaſtern nations for a couple of centuries afterward, and firſt received the addition of a gnomon from the hand of Anaximenes the Mileſian at Sparta [25]. But the knowledge of this or the other was introduced very late into the weſt. The Romans diſtinguiſhed the day only by its two natural periods of ſun-riſe and ſun-ſet, even for ſome time after the promulgation of the twelve tables. And the firſt artificial diviſion of it was by the obvious diſtinction of noon. This began a few years afterward, the crier of the conſuls being ordered to proclaim the noon in their court, when he ſaw the ſun appear betwixt two particular points of the forum. But the Græcian dial paſſed with the Græcian colonies into Sicily. And the earlieſt, that was ſeen at Rome, was brought from the conquered Catana during the firſt Punick war, and fixed upon a pillar by the roſtrum. This however was inaccurately made, the lines not anſwering with preciſion to the hours. But it remained the irregular ſtandard of the Roman time, for no leſs than ninety-nine years. And within

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Sect. IV. within five after it was reformed Scipio Naſica invented a horologe, which could be ſerviceable on the frequent occaſions in which the other was uſeleſs, and marked the ſeveral ſtages of time as well under a cloudy as a ſunny ſky, and equally in the night as the day. This was a large veſſel, that meaſured the courſe of the hours by the trickling of water, and was ſet up under cover by Scipio for the uſe of the publick [26]. But the Britons were as ignorant of both at the period of the Roman invaſion, as the Romans at the commencement of the Punick wars. And the firſt of the latter, that was ever brought into the iſland, was introduced into it by Cæſar and his army in his two attempts upon the country [27]. Both were introduced into Britain by the Romans; and both were for ages the only regiſters of the day in Mancheſter. And the one has therefore received the appellation of Horarium or an Hour-glaſs, and the other the name of Diale, a Dial, or Day-piece, among us.

The town of Mancheſter contained within it the manſion of the baron, the dwellings of his immediately attendant villains, and the numerous houſes of the artiſans. For the many occupations, that had been purſued by the villains before in the neighbourhood of the pariſh, muſt have been equally followed by them now within the town. And the mechanical profeſſions, that had been occaſionally practiſed by ſingle individuals about the houſes of the chiefs, would now be appropriated to particular perſons, and regularly followed as particular occupations. The brazier, the tinman, the glazier, the ironmonger, and others, artiſts all exiſting before the erection

erection of Mancheſter, muſt all have continued in it. They were neceſſary to the mutual accommodation of the baron and the townſmen, and would therefore be ſettled in it with both. And the employments of the plumber, farrier, and turner, of the apothecary, barber, and the like, often exerciſed occaſionally before by any of the chief's retainers, appear from the Roman appellations of the artiſts to have been now converted into diſtinct occupations. And the Romans added the reſt, the mercer, fuller, tavern-keeper, and the like. The barber was entirely unknown at Rome for four hundred and fifty years, and was then firſt introduced by Ticinius Mæna from Sicily [28]. And the knowledge of medicinal herbs, and of their influence in medicinal applications, would naturally be cultivated in a military nation, and was greatly attended to in the Britiſh. Thus we ſee a Caledonian chief in the poems of Oſſian, who "had ſearched for the herbs of the mountains, "and gathered them on the ſecret banks of their "ſtreams;" and whoſe "hand had cloſed the wound "of the valiant." It is alſo declared of another, that "to cloſe the wound was his, he had known the herbs "of the hills, and had ſeized their fair heads on high "as they waved by their ſecret ſtreams." And an acquaintance with the virtues of ſimples, and a ſkill in the application of them to the body, were within theſe few years univerſal among the Britons of Scotland [29]. Nor was this all. Medicinal botany, originally the only branch of medicine, was even engrafted upon the ſtock of the Celtick religion; and the druids of the Gauls and Britons were at once their phyſicians

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and prieſts [30]. And the magick rites, which were practiſed with ſuch a wild ſolemnity in our own iſland at this period, were merely the mixt effuſions of medicine and ſuperſtition, each acting upon the other, and both heightening the whole. Magick, as Pliny has juſtly obſerved [31], was nothing more in its origin than the daughter of Medicine; calling out the ſecret powers of nature in the vegetable creation, and yet concealing their agency under the mantle of religion. And we have three or four plants pointed out to us by the antients, that were peculiarly the favourites of the druids. One was what they denominated the Samol, and which has been very differently interpreted, as the botanical mind had no ſtandard of determination; but was probably, as the L and the R are frequently interchanged, the Seamar or wild Trefoil, to which the Iriſh Britons pay a particular attention at preſent, wearing it in their hats on St. Patrick's day under the diminutive appellation of Seamrog. This was eſteemed an excellent remedy for all the diſeaſes of their droves and herds, if it was bruiſed, and then mingled with the water that the cattle drank. But, when it was gathered in the ſwamps where it grew, it was conſtantly plucked by the left hand alone; and the ſimpler was faſting, never looked back while he gathered it, and depoſited it no-where till he put it into the watering-troughs [32]. Another was Vervain, by which the druids pretended to predict future events, and from which they really extracted an unguent, that (beſides its power to conciliate friendſhips and procure the accompliſhment of every wiſh) was thought to be efficacious in preventing fevers

fevers and curing every other diſeaſe. And it was gathered about the commencement of dog-days and in a moonleſs night; the leaves, the ſtem, and the root were dried ſeparately and in the ſhade; and an infuſion of it in wine was preſcribed for the bite of a ſerpent [33]. The Selago alſo, a kind of Savin, was eſteemed a preſervative againſt every calamity, and the ſmoke of it beneficial for any complaints in the eyes [34]. And the Miſletoe of the oak, which was then as rarely found upon that tree as it is at preſent, naturally became therefore a peculiar object of regard in a botanical ſyſtem of religion; was thought, when it was taken in a draught, to give fruitfulneſs to barren animals, and to be an uſeful antidote to poiſons; and was called by a Celtick appellation, that ſhews it to have been conſidered as an univerſal medicine [35]. Thus, out of four preſcriptions that have been communicated to us from the Celtick pharmacy, the ſamol was thought a remedy for all the diſeaſes in hogs and kine, the vervain was a cure for every diſorder in man, and the miſletoe was denominated the All-healing Plant. And, in theſe firſt ſtages of her progreſs, Medicine would naturally be ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the virtues which diſcloſed themſelves in plants; and, by the influence of her aſſociates, Credulity and Superſtition, be ſtrongly tempted to carry her faith into extravagance, and attribute infallibility and univerſality to almoſt every remedy. Thus the vulgar mind, we ſee at preſent, is ready to receive every medicine that is obtruded upon it by the hand of quackery, as equally applicable in all the ſtages of a diſorder, and certainly

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ſucceſsful in all its operations. The miſletoe of the oak is to this day conſidered as a curioſity by our naturaliſts, and within a century and a half was reputed very medicinal by our phyſicians, and compoſed a regular part of the Materia Medica of our ſhops [35]. And the many preſcriptions which remain traditional all over the kingdom, that either work as amulets on the fancy in agues and the like diſorders, or apply the powers of plants to the bodies in diſeaſes of a more fixed and inveterate nature, and are generally the only medicines of our peaſants at any diſtance from Manchester, have been moſtly derived, I apprehend, like thoſe of the Highlanders mentioned above, from the botanical and medical notices of the Britons.

[1] Agricola induced the new ſubjects of the empire (ſays Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. 21.) ut Templa, *Fora*, Domos, extruerent.—[2] Tacit. Ann. lib. xv. c. 43.—[3] Phil. Tranſ. vol. XLV. p. 603.—[4] Tacitus Ann. lib. xv. c. 4. and the Note in variorum edit. — [5] Geneſis ch. xi. ver. 3.—[6] Exodus c. v. and Pliny lib. xxxv. c. 14, and Varro de Re Ruſt. lib. i. c. 14. Brick is Brike, plural Bricion, in Iriſh. — Mr. Macpherſon, in p. 222. of his Introduction, aſſerts the Britons to have had bricks, on the pretended authority of Herodian lib. vii. But in this, as in five hundred paſſages beſides, he has adopted that ſtrange mode of reaſoning which has been uſed by ſo many of our hiſtorical writers, of applying to the Britons every trait of character which occurs concerning the Germans, without attempting to prove them of the

the ſame blood and in the ſame circumſtances, and when both were very different.—[7] Pliny lib. xxx. c. 14. —[8] Ibid. —[9] Accenſo foco in *medio*, et calido effecto cœnaculo (in the year 627), Bede lib. ii. c. 13. See alſo lib. iii. c. 10. —[10] See Suetonius in Vitellio c. 8. for a Roman Caminus or chimney. And the Britiſh names for a chimney are all Roman to this day, as Shimnæ in Welſh, Tſhimbla in Corniſh, Shimilan and Sheminal in Armorick, and Shimilean in Iriſh.—And ſee King's Vale Royal part I. p. 19.—[11] Pliny lib. xvi. c. 36.—[12] Shingler is uſed in an antient ſtatute as an appellation ſynonymous with Thatcher. So in 5 Eliz. ſect. 30. *Tiler*, *Slater*, or *Helier*, and *Thatcher* or *Shingler*. And ſee King's Vale Royal pt. I. p. 19, for the uſe of ſhingles in Cheſhire; and Maitland's Edinborough 1753, p. 62, for an order there in 1621, that, inſtead of *Straw*, *Deals*, or *Boards*, ſhould be uſed ſlates, &c.—[13] Pliny lib. xvi. c. 10.—[14] Pliny lib. vii. c. 56. The Germans on the continent had no tiles; Ne — apud illos — tegularum uſus (Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 16).—[15] Pliny lib. xxxvi. c. 22.—[16] Hearne's Stunsfield-pavement in Leland vol. VIII. p. 30. —[17] Window is yet provincially denominated Windor in Lancaſhire &c., Wind-door, or the paſſage for air, as that for people was peculiarly called The Door. And the word is Welſh, Uynt Dor ſignifying the paſſage for the wind.—[18] Seneca Ep. 90.—[19] Pliny lib. xix. c. 5, and Martial lib. viii. E. 14.—[20] See b. II. ch. viii. ſ. 3. —[21] Theſe ſeem all to have been fixed in frames that were called Capſamenta, and now therefore Kaiſmeints in Wales and Lancaſhire; and to have been

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Sect. IV. partitioned into ſquares, called Quadræ and Quadrellæ, and therefore denominated Quarries all over the kingdom and Quarrels in Lancaſhire. And each window ſeems to have been named a Tranſenna, as ours in general at Mancheſter are called Tranſome-windows to this day, and in contra-diſtinction to ſaſhes. Only we ſtill pronounce the word in the Britiſh manner, changing the M into P, and calling it Tranſop. — [22] Moreton's Northamptonſhire p. 511, Stukeley's Itin. p. 79, Horſeley p. 145 and 146, and Stukeley's Itin. p. 51.— [23] Pliny lib. xix. c. 4, E puteo perticâ [or, as the context requires and ſome copies read, rotâ] organiſve neumaticis, vel tollenonum hauſtu. And ſee a tollenon deſcribed in Vegetius lib. iv. c. 21, and his, Aquarum hauſtus funibus extrahendi from deep wells, in l. iv. c. 10.—[24] 2 Kings ch. xx. ver. 11.—[25] Pliny lib. ii. c. 76.—[26] Pliny lib. vii. c. 60.—[27] Cæſar. p. 89.— [28] Pliny lib. vii. c. 59.—[29] Oſſian vol. I. p. 247, and vol. II. p. 148. and Note. And ſee Boetius Scot. Reg. Deſc. fol. 12.—[30] Pliny lib. 30 c. 1, Druidas,— hoc genus vatum medicorumque.—[31] Ibid.—[32] L. xxiv. c. 11.—[33] L. xxv. c. 9.—[34] L. xxiv. c. 11.—[35] L. xvi. c. 44, and Selden on Polyolbion p. 153.

V.

P. 365. THE primitive Britons are charged by two of the moſt reſpectable hiſtorians among the Romans, with the groſs barbariſms of a community of wives, inceſtuous loves, and unnatural mixtures [1]. And the accuſation

is

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is too ſurely as juſt, as it is ſcandalous [2]. A community of wives was the principal crime; and the inceſtuous and unnatural cohabitations were merely the reſult of that. The Britons formed themſelves into a ſtrange ſort of matrimonial clubs, which generally comprehended ten or twelve families, and each huſband had free acceſs to each wife in it. And, as theſe aſſociations would moſt naturally conſiſt of the neareſt relatives, brothers carried on an intercourſe with their ſiſters-in-law, and daughters-in-law became the concubines of their fathers [3]. Nor was this, as at firſt it may ſeem to be, repugnant to the Britiſh principles of gavel-kind in private inheritances, and to the Britiſh modes of ſucceſſion in publick. A particular proviſion was made, that the children of every wife ſhould be reckoned for the progeny of the genuine husband [4]. Nor is it contradictory either to any particular notices in the Roman accounts, or the general tenour of the poems of Oſſian. In the former indeed, Boadicia is mentioned as the appropriated wife of Praſutagus, another perſon is ſpoken of as the peculiar conſort of Caractacus, and Cartiſmandua is named as the particular ſpouſe of Venutius [5]. But the marrier of the maid was always eſteemed the husband of the wife [6]. And, though in Oſſian we ſee the principle of matrimonial fidelity conſidered with delicacy and obſerved with religion among the Britiſh wives, yet this is very compatible with the accounts of the Romans. That principle might conſiſt in a fidelity, not to one but ſeveral, to all the individuals that were incorporated into the ſociety. And an habitual and national aſſociation of

Sect. V. ideas will ſoon render any groſſneſſes agreeable to delicacy, and any impurities compatible with religion.

The Britiſh females, after the introduction of ſpinning, ſo conſtantly employed at the diſtaff the many hours of leiſure, which the want of literary amuſements muſt have left particularly vacant in all ages; that the ſpindle became the ſymbol of the ſex, and an eſtate devolving to the female line was formally ſaid by the law to deſcend to the diſtaff [7]. And, thus engaged, the Britiſh virgin was declared marriageable at fourteen [8]. The lover regularly addreſſed himſelf firſt to the father of the maid, and requeſted his daughter in marriage. And, if he agreed to the overture, he opened "the hall of the maid", the apartment in which ſhe generally ſat retired from the men of the family, and introduced the ſuitor to his daughter [9]. The period of courtſhip among the Britiſh women appears to have been generally as ſhort, as it was among the Patriarchal [10]. A few days concluded the ſuit. The abſolute authority of the father took away all power of refuſal from the daughter [11]. And, if ſhe diſliked the lover whom he recommended, ſhe had no other reſource than the tears of entreaty or the dangers of flight.

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The Britiſh wife, like the modern, brought generally a portion or Argyfrey with her [12]. And the Britiſh husband, like the modern, as generally made a ſettlement or Egweddi upon her previous to the marriage [13]. This did not however, like that, ſuperſede her rights incident on ſurvivorſhip; and ſhe was entitled, if there were no children, to the full half of her

her husband's property [14]. And the proportion of this Egweddi was not left, as it is among ourſelves, to be determined by the indiſcretion of the lover, the expectations of the lady, or the cunning of over-reaching relations. It was abſolutely aſcertained by the law, and was twenty-four pounds for a king's daughter, three for a noble's, and one for a villain's [15]. But this ſettlement differed eſſentially from the modern, and coincided exactly with the Saxon, in its import; as it took place upon the marriage, and the wife was immediately inveſted with the property [16]. And the rite of matrimony was celebrated by the father, in the ſhort form of giving up the maid to the ſuitor [17]. But after this was another ſettlement, which was denominated Chowyll, and anſwered to the Morgengife of the Germans; being made the morning after the marriage, and actually before the couple aroſe from bed [18]. In ſuch a ſituation, the man muſt have been in peculiar danger of acting indiſcreetly with his fortune. And the law, which ſo ſtrangely expoſed him to it, was obliged in equity to protect him under it. It fixed the chowyll deciſively at eight pounds for a king's daughter, one for a noble's, and a hundred and twenty pence for a villain's [19]. And ſo ludicrouſly was the whole proceſs adjuſted by the law, that, if the bride did not gain the ſettlement before ſhe aroſe, ſhe had no title to it afterwards [20]. And, after ſhe had gained it, if ſhe did not equally declare before ſhe roſe the particular uſe to which ſhe intended to apply it, the husband enjoyed it afterwards in common with her [21].

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The

Sect. V. The husband was entitled either corporally to chaſtiſe his wife, or to require a legal ſatisfaction from her, for three crimes, infidelity to his bed, embezzling his goods, or abuſing his beard [22]. And either of the parties, as was equally the cuſtom among the Jews, might require a divorce from the other [23]. The itch or a foul breath were legally reckoned as good reaſons for it, as impotence [24]. And it was ſufficiently ratified by a mutual agreement in private. Thus Cartiſmandua, the queen of the Brigantes, divorced herſelf from her husband Venutius, the monarch of the Jugantes [25]. Deugala, the wife of a Briton in Ireland, demanded and obtained an immediate ſeparation from her huſband Cairbar [26]. And ſome of the wilder Iriſh retained the cuſtom, in part, within theſe two or three centuries [26]. The whole ſubſtance of the family was regularly divided betwixt the parties; and, though two thirds of the children were conſigned to the husband, one half only of the property was retained by him, the other being carried away by the wife [27]. And, by a very ſenſible preſcription of the law, the parties were not reſtrained, as even in caſes of adultery they ordinarily are among ourſelves, from an engagement in a ſecond marriage [28]. But, at leaſt after the introduction of Chriſtianity, if the bride was accuſed of any previous incontinence, and could not clear herſelf by compurgation, her ſhift was torn up before and behind, and ſhe was diſmiſſed by the husband; he putting previouſly into her hands the ſoaped tail of a young heifer, and, if ſhe could retain it by her hold, allowing her to keep it for her portion [29]. And, at leaſt after the

the ſame introduction, adultery was puniſhed with very great ſeverity; the wife loſing all her Egweddi as well all her Argyfrey for the act, and even forfeiting the former for merely allowing a man to ſalute her [30]. Sect. V.

When the wife was advanced in her pregnancy, ſhe was bound about with a ſanctified girdle, which was ſuppoſed to alleviate the pains and expedite the birth. Such are particularly mentioned in a paſſage of the Britiſh poems, in which a hundred of them are promiſed by a chief, as uſeful "to bind high-boſomed women," and as the "friends of the birth of heroes." And they have been preſerved in many families of the Highlanders, nearly to the preſent period [31]. P. 368.

The mode of interment among the Britons and Gauls was, either by conſigning the remains entire and undefaced to the ground, or by previouſly reducing them to aſhes [32]. The former is the moſt natural and obvious, and muſt therefore have been the original, form of ſepulture in the world [33]. The latter is evidently a refinement upon it, introduced at firſt in all probability to prevent any accidental indignities or deliberate outrages on the venerable remains of the dead. And this became frequent among the Britons, as the aſhes that have been diſcovered in the ſepulchers on Salisbury plain abundantly teſtify [34]. But the primitive rite of burial was ſtill generally retained in the iſland. In this manner, pretty certainly, was the illuſtrious Boadicia magnificently interred [35]. In this, undoubtedly, were all the heroes of Oſſian buried [36]. And under both forms the body was either repoſited in a cavity or laid upon the ſurface of the ground,

Sect. V. ground, and a barrow was conſtructed over it. Such are all the Britiſh burying-places on the downs of Wiltſhire, the moors of Cornwall, and the plains of Ireland [37]. And ſuch was the grave of Oſſian's Lamdarg in particular, which compoſed a conſiderable knoll on the P. 369. margin of the Iriſh ſhore [38]. Theſe were ſometimes made of the common ſoil about them; and ſometimes of three or four ſlabs, ſet upon an edge and cloſed with another above, containing a cavity for the body, and covered with heaps of little ſtones. And, of the former ſpecies, are all that have been opened upon Salisbury plain [39]. But the latter appears to have been far the commoneſt among us, and is found very frequently in Britain, Scotland, and Ireland. This model of a barrow ſeems to have been very antiently uſed among the provincials [40]. And it continued very late among them. It ſurvived the introduction of Chriſtianity, and remained beyond the departure of the Romans. Many Roman coins have been diſcovered in one of theſe ſtone-barrows among the Corniſh [41]. The Bedn Guortigern or grave of Vortigern, in the mountains of Caernarvonſhire, was a Carnedd or large collection of ſmall ſtones, covering a Kiſt-yaen, a ſtony incloſure or cheſt, and protecting the body of the king in it [42]. Even the century after Vortigern, a perſon dying in the preſence of the celebrated ſaint, Columba, and in the iſle of Sky, it is expreſsly related that he was buried in this manner; Socii congeſto lapidum acervo ſepelierunt [43]. And the practice is retained in part among all the remains of the provincial and extra-provincial Britons to this day. When a wretch

wretch dies by the act of ſuicide in Ireland, and is buried, as in England, at the interſection of two highways; or when the greateſt of criminals ſuffer the ſentence of the law either in Ireland, Wales, or Scotland, and are interred under the gallows; the paſſengers for ſome time afterwards have a cuſtom of throwing ſtones upon their graves, till they have raiſed a conſiderable heap over them. And a proverbial ſort of curſe prevails both in Wales and Ireland, of wiſhing an enemy what Hector wiſhes Paris, to have a Cairn over him, or (in the language of Homer [a]) to be clad in a coat of ſtone [44]. But the original cuſtom is ſtill more perfectly preſerved in Scotland. If a perſon there ſuddenly falls down dead, or loſes his life by any accident in his journey, whether the fact happens on a road or in the field, a rude heap of ſtones is immediately thrown together upon the ſpot by the firſt who diſcovers the corpſe; and the common people contribute to increaſe the pile, by adding each of them a ſtone to it. And there are ſome perſons ſo religiouſly ſcrupulous in this reſpect, that they will turn out of their way for a quarter of a mile, in order to fetch a ſtone for the purpoſe; as the neglect, they apprehend, will be puniſhed by ſome ſubſequent misfortune to them [45]. Sect. V.

In theſe barrows it was the practice of the Gauls and Britons to bury many particulars with the body, which the deceaſed regarded in his life [46]. Hence, in the grave of a young Britiſh woman upon the plains of Sarum, were found ſome years ago beads of amber, glo-

[a] Λαινον εσσο χιτωνα, κακων ενεχ' οσσα τοι ειδω. Iliad. lib. iii.

Sect. V. bules of glaſs, and the head of a ſpear, the ornaments of the girl and the weapon of the heroine [47]. Hence the warriours in Oſſian ſo frequently order their bow and ſword, the horn of their hunting, and a boſs of their ſhield, to be laid with them at their death "in the "dark and narrow houſe of the grave" [48]. And the broken remains of ſwords, ſome half-melted by the funeral fire, have frequently been found in the barrows of the Britiſh warriours in Cornwall [49]. This practice, reſulting from a juſt but wildly devious belief in the immortality of the ſoul [50], was carried to ſo great a length, that favourite animals were ſlain in honour of the deceaſed, and their remains buried in the ſame grave with them. The cuſtom was obſerved univerſally in Gaul to the days of Cæſar [51]. And it was practiſed occaſionally
P. 370. in Britain, ſome few of our barrows diſcloſing theſe diſtinguiſhable remains, and the poems of Oſſian preſenting us with an inſtance of the fact. The burnt bones of horſes, dogs, and other animals have been found mingled with human in the Wiltſhire ſepulchers. And Luath, the dog of Cuchullin in the north of Ireland, was actually interred with his maſter in the third century [52].

Thus formed, theſe barrows have been generally preſerved inviolate to our own times, by the reſpect which the religious principles of the Britons beſtowed upon them. And of this we have very lively traces remaining among the Highlanders at preſent. They are firmly perſuaded to this moment, that if a dead body ſhall be known to lie unburied, or to be removed from its ſepulcher either by malice or accident, and immediate

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care is not taken for the interment of it; ſtorms and tempeſts will ariſe to deſtroy their corn, overturn their cabins, and carry deſolation through the country [53]. And the late conſtruction of the military roads in Scotland afforded a remarkable proof of the notion. As the way which runs from Crief northward was carried on through Glenalmond, an enormous ſtone was removed that croſſed the intended line of it, and a Britiſh ſepulcher found below, containing aſhes, fragments of bones, and half-burnt ſtalks of heath. And, as ſoon as it was known to the Highlanders of the country, they aſſembled in arms even from diſtant parts of it, and formed themſelves in a body; carefully collected the relicks, marched with them in a ſolemn proceſſion to a new place of burial, and there paid the military honours to the deceaſed by diſcharging their muſquets over his grave [54].

[1] Cæſar p. 89. and Dio p. 1007. In p. 1002 and the ſpeech of Boadicia the children are ſaid to be equally in common with their mothers. But this is certainly falſe (Cæſar p. 89).—[2] Mr. Rowland, Mr. Carte, and Dr. Macpherſon (and from them Dr. Henry in his Hiſt. of G. Britain vol. I. 1771, p. 445) have endeavoured to vindicate the Britons, Mona p. 246, Hiſtory p. 71, and Crit. Diſſ. p. 140; and all equally in vain. Their argument is, that, all the members of a family ſleeping (as I have ſhewed before) in one apartment together, they were therefore ſuppoſed by foreigners to have a promiſcuous copulation. But, to make the apology cor-

Sect. V. correſpondent to the charge, it ſhould have been ſhewn, not merely that one family, but that ten or twelve, thus ſlept together. —[3] Cæſar p. 89, Uxores habent deni duodenique inter ſe communes, et maximè fratres cum fratribus et parentes cum liberis. —[4] Cæſar p. 89. —[5] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 31. and lib. xii. c. 36, 37, and 40. —[6] Cæſar p. 89.—[7] Howel Dha lib. II. c. xv. a. 5. —[8] Lib. II. c. i. a. 93. —[9] Oſſian vol. I. p. 50. and 115.—[10] Ibid. and Gen. c. xxiv.—[11] Cæſar p. 121 for the Gauls.—[12] Lib. II. c. i. a. 48. And ſee Cæſar p. 121 for the portion of the Gallick women. —[13] Lib. II. c. i. a. 89. —[14] Lib. II. c. i. a. 13. and c. xxvii. a. 16.—[15] P. 300.—[16] Lib. II. c. i. a. 40. and lib. II. c. i. a. 73. —[17] Oſſian p. 50 and 77. vol. I.—[18] Lib. II. c. i. a. 37. and Hickes's Pref. to Theſaurus p. 9. —[19] Howel p. 300. —[20] Lib. II. c. i. a. 74. —[21] Lib. II. c. i. a. 75. —[22] Lib. IV. c. 5. —[23] Oſſian vol. i. p. 31. and Howel lib. ii. c. 1.—[24] Lib. II. c. i. a. 12.—[25] Tacitus Ann. lib. XII. c. 40. This ſhe did by her own authority only, without even requiring the conſent of her husband, which was neceſſary. And therefore Tacitus calls it a flagitious act, Hiſt. lib. III. c. 45.—[26] Oſſian vol. i. p. 31, Stanyhurſt's Def. of Ireland in Hollingſhead, p. 45, and Davies p. 126.—[27] Oſſian vol. I. p. 31. and Howel lib. ii. c. 1. a. 3 and 5.—[28] Lib. II. c. i. a. 6, 11, and 16. —[29] Lib. II. c. i. a. 42. This is ſomewhat ſimilar to the cuſtom ſo well known in one or two manours of the kingdom, by which a widow, that had forfeited her copyhold by incontinence, was reſtored to it on coming into court mounted upon a black ram, holding the tail in her hand, and profeſſing

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feſſing penitence.—[30] Lib. II. c. i. a. 36 and 35.—[31] Oſſian vol. I. p. 115.—[32] Mela for the Gauls lib. III. c. 2.—[33] See alſo Gen. c. xxiii.—[34] Stukeley's Stonehenge p. 10.—[35] Dio p. 1011.—[36] Vol. I. p. 140. &c.—[37] Stukeley c. 10. and Borlaſe lib. III. c. 8.—[38] Oſſian vol. i. p. 42.—[39] Stonehenge c. 10.—[40] Oſſian P. 371. paſſim. And ſee Crit. Diſſert. p. 315.—[41] Borlaſe's Cornwall p. 299.—[42] Kennet's Par. Ant. p. 698. And Carte p. 196. corroborates this account with the expreſs teſtimony of the old Welſh bards, who aſſert this to have been the place of Vortigern's ſepulture.—[43] Adamnan's life of Columba lib. I. c. 33. in Colgan's Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ, vol. II. p. 345.—[44] Ware, Harris, p. 142, and Mona p. 214.—[45] Birt's Letters vol. II. p. 102—103, and Gent. Mag. May 1752.—[46] Cæſar p. 122 of the Gauls.—[47] Stonehenge p. 45.—[48] Oſſian vol. I. p. 55. &c.—[49] Borlaſe p. 238 and 239.—[50] Mela l. III. c. 2.—[51] Cæſar p. 122.—[52] Stonehenge p. 46, Borlaſe p. 237, and Oſſian vol. I. p. 153.—[53] Birt's Letters vol. II. p. 301.—[54] Birt's Letters vol. II. p. 299—300.

VI.

THE art of drawing out our ideas into viſion, and declaring the ſentiments of the mind by the imagery of characters, could never have reſulted perhaps from any principle of human reaſoning, but was firſt ſuggeſted by the Deity. And ſuch an art became neceſſary for a being like man, who required the aſſiſtance

Sect. VI. of moral revelations to point out to him the line of his duty, and the interpoſition of conſolatory prophecies to encourage him in the practice of it. Theſe would naturally be committed to writing for the ſame reaſon for which they were given, to preclude the fatal inconveniences of miſtakes, and inſtruct or confirm the future ages of the world. And one prophecy we know to have been actually committed, even as early as the ſeventh generation only from Adam; that remarkable prediction of Enoch's, which is formally cited by St. Jude, and of which a very ſolemn paſſage is tranſmitted to us by him [1].

The uſe of letters, therefore, is prior to the æra which is commonly fixed for the introduction of them, the age of Moſes. As many divine revelations were made to man, ſo many were entruſted to writing, before the period of the Moſaical works. And all the various combinations of the Noachidæ at Babel carried
P. 372. a regular alphabet away with them, to the places of their ſeveral diſperſions. This moſt of them afterwards forgot. They probably firſt neglected and loſt the code of divine laws and promiſes, as wiſhing not to be controuled by the diſcipline of the one, and having no longer therefore any ſatisfaction in the hope of the other. And afterwards they gradually forgot the letters, which had been taught to their fathers entirely for thoſe ends, and the knowledge of which had been wholly preſerved among them by thoſe writings. The Gauls, in particular, had evidently loſt the uſe of their original alphabet; as in the days of Cæſar they had adopted the Græcian from the neighbouring inhabitants of Marſeilles [2].

ſeilles [2]. And the Britons had equally forgotten theirs, and in the reign of Tiberius had borrowed the Roman from Gaul. That the latter were, for ages before the invaſion of Claudius, not poſſeſſed of any Britiſh letters at all, we need no other argument to ſhow us, than that even in the days of Cunobeline, and before the firſt ſettlement of the Romans among them, their coins exhibit conſtantly a foreign alphabet, and preſent us perpetually with Italian characters. In the flouriſhing ſtate of the Britiſh commerce during the reigns of Auguſtus and Tiberius, and in the frequent intercourſe of the Britons with the Romans and Romanized natives of Gaul, the former adopted the letters which they found univerſal with the latter, and introduced the Italian alphabet amongſt us. This was the firſt perhaps that had ever been imported into the iſland, and aſſuredly the firſt that had been brought into Lancaſhire. And the uſeful invention was inſtantly carried over the country; and appears from the coins of Durinum, Eburo, and Eiſu to have reached into the kingdom of the Durotriges in the weſt and of the Brigantes in the north, before the victories of Veſpaſian in the one and of Agricola in the other. And the Corniſh, Welſh, Scotch, and Iriſh languages have, from that period to the preſent, invariably uſed the characters of the Romans in writing.

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The want of a Britiſh alphabet naturally gave a ready admiſſion to the Italian. And the long ſettlement of the Italians in Britain as naturally made a free opening for their language. The latter became nearly as familiar to the ears, as the former to the eyes, of the

Sect. VI. Britons. And the language ſeems to have been generally ſpoken by the gentlemen after the coming of the Romans, and even to have been underſtood by many before it. Hence, in that period during which Strabo informs us that the Romans became well acquainted with the iſland, though they had not yet formed a ſettlement within it, and in which we know the Britons to have introduced a mint from the Gallick continent, we ſee ſo many of their current coins bearing Roman inſcriptions [3]. And hence we find the epitaphs of the Britiſh monarchs, even after the departure of the Romans, all uniformly written in the language of Italy. Such is Pabo's, ſuch is Eneon's, and ſuch Cadvan's, all three in the iſle of Angleſey only [4]. Hence alſo, which is very remarkable, the parental appellations among our ſuperiour ranks at preſent are purely Roman, while thoſe among the vulgar are abſolutely Britiſh [4]. And, though the Italian could never have been likely to ſuperſede the genuine language of the iſland, yet it appears to have been greatly incorporated with it, and has furniſhed it with a ſixth or a ſeventh of its preſent terms.

[1] This remarkable paſſage has been imagined by the generality of our criticks, not to be cited by St. Jude from any book of Enoch's exiſting in the days of the apoſtle, but to have been merely ſuggeſted to his mind by the power of inſpiratiou. But the ſuppoſition, however general, is obviouſly a piece of critical refinement. The paſſage is as formally cited by St. Jude from Enoch,

Enoch, as the well-known line and half-line are by St. Paul from Epimenides and Aratus. And theſe quotations may as juſtly be referred to the mere ſuggeſtions of inſpiration, as that. Reaſon is often obliged to appeal from criticiſm to common-ſenſe. — [2] Cæſar p. 120. — [3] Strabo p. 306, and ch. ix. ſ. 1. before.—[4] Mona plates 9 and 10. The Tat or Dad of the vulgar are Britiſh for a father, as Mam is for a mother. And the Tata, Papa, and Mama of genteeler life are all Roman. Sect. VI.

VII.

WHEN Claudius ſubdued the more ſoutherly Britons, he prudently deprived them of their arms [1]. And, when Oſtorius took poſſeſſion of his government here, he diſarmed even ſuch of the allies as he ſuſpected of hoſtile deſigns [2]. But, on the peaceable ſettlement of the country, and its chearful ſubmiſſion to the Romans, all the Britons appear to have recovered their arms again. Hence, even on the doubtful confines of the north, and in the dangerous neighbourhood of the Caledonians, we ſee the Britons indulged with them, and conſtantly prepared for war [3]. And ſome Britiſh Celts have been diſcovered in Cornwall wrapt up in a covering of linen [4], a ſpecies of cloth (as I ſhall afterwards ſhew) introduced into Britain by the Romans; and others have been found both in Cornwall and Yorkſhire, accompanied with Roman coins [5]. Many of the Britons were levied for the foreign ſervice of the Ro- P. 374.

Sect. VII. mans, and ſent in different detachments to the continent [6]. And many of them were equally levied for the ſame ſervice at home, and ſent to the armies in action or the garriſons on the borders. For theſe purpoſes only, could the Romans have allowed any arms at all to the Britons. And ſeveral bodies of them are mentioned in Tacitus and inſcriptions, to have been actually engaged in battle againſt the northern Britons, or actually ſtationed upon duty along the northern wall [7]. Theſe would naturally be demanded of the ſtates in rotation by the Romans, and raiſed in rotation among the ſubjects by the monarchs.

When it was requiſite for the Britons to call out their warriours into the field, they uſed a method that was particularly marked by its expeditiouſneſs and deciſiveneſs, and remains partially among us to this moment. They raiſed a cry, which was immediately caught up by others, and in an inſtant tranſmitted from mouth to mouth through all the region. And, as the notice paſſed along, the warriours ſnatched their arms, and hurried away to the rendezvous. We have a remarkable deſcription of the fact in Cæſar, and there ſee the alarm propagated in ſixteen or ſeventeen hours through 160 miles in a line. Ubi major atque illuſtrior incidit res, ſays he, clamore per agros regioneſque ſignificant: hunc alii deinceps excipiunt, et proximis tradunt: ut tunc accidit; nam quæ oriente ſole Genabi geſta eſſent, the inſurrection of the Carnutes and the maſſacre of the Romans, ante primam confectam vigiliam in finibus Arvernorum audita ſunt; quod ſpatium eſt millium paſſuum circiter 160 [8]. And the ſame practice has been retained

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retained by the Highlanders to our own time. When the lord of a clan received intelligence of an enemy's approach, he immediately killed a goat with his own ſword, dipped the end of a half-burnt ſtick in the blood, and then gave it and the notice of the rendezvous to be carried to the next hamlet. The former ſymbolically threatened fire and ſword to all his followers, that did not inſtantly repair to the latter. The notice was diſpatched from hamlet to hamlet with the utmoſt expedition. And in three or four hours the whole clan was in arms, and aſſembled at the place appointed [9]. This was within theſe few years the ordinary mode, by which the chieftains aſſembled their followers for war. The firſt perſon that received the notice ſet out with it at full ſpeed, delivered it to the next that he met, who inſtantly ſet out on the ſame ſpeed, and handed it to a third. And, in the late rebellion of 1745, it was ſent by an unknown hand through the region of Braidalbin; and, flying as expeditiouſly as the Gallick ſignal in Cæſar, traverſed a tract of thirty-two miles in three hours [10]. This quick method of giving a diffuſive alarm is even preſerved among ourſelves to the preſent day, but is applied, as it ſeems from Cæſar's account above to have been equally applied among the Celtæ, to the better purpoſes of civil polity. The huteſium and clamor of our laws, and the hue and cry of our own times, is a well-known and powerful proceſs for ſpreading the notice and continuing the purſuit of any fugitive felons. The cry, like the clamour of the Gauls or the ſummons of the Highlanders, is taken from town to town and from county to county. And a chain of communication

Sect. VII. is ſpeedily carried from one end of the kingdom to the other.

Thus raiſed, each corps would march to the place of deſtination, commanded by the monarch or his deputy, and marſhalled under the ſtandard of the kingdom. And each ſubordinate chief in it would command his
P. 375. own followers under the general, and range them beneath his own ſtandard. Such was, in fact, the uſual diſpoſition of the Britiſh forces [11]. And every principle of policy and honour concurred to bind the followers cloſely to their chief. The ſtrong attachment of the Highland clans to their lairds is well known. And we ſee exactly the ſame vigorous and implicit fidelity profeſſed and practiſed among the Gauls and Britons. When Litavicus was detected in his deſign of cauſing a defection among the Ædui, ſays Cæſar, he fled to Gergovia, and was attended by all his retainers; as, according to the Gallick cuſtoms, it was criminal for them to deſert their lords in the greateſt extremity of diſtreſs: quibus [clientelis] nefas more Gallorum eſt, etiam in extremâ fortunâ deſerere patronos [12]. This is evidently as ſtriking a picture, as could be drawn even by a modern hand, of a Highland clan. And two clans of Britons in theſe north-weſtern parts of England, that in the ſixth century broke out into rebellion with their chiefs, againſt a king equally religious and generous, and for ſo ridiculous an object as a couple of dogs and a lark's neſt, were highly extolled at the time, and are greatly celebrated by a Welſh author of the tenth century, for their exemplary loyalty to their lords. One of them obſtinately continued in rebellion after their chieftain

chieftain was defeated and ſlain, and maintained a ſeries of daily engagements for no leſs than ſix weeks together, in order to revenge his death; and the other, after the defeat, attended their lord in his flight, accompanied him even into Ireland, and there devoted themſelves to a perpetual exile with him. And they have therefore been tranſmitted with applauſe to poſterity by their cotemporaries and the Welſh author above, and diſtinguiſhed by the higheſt and moſt honourable appellation that either of them thought they could give, that of The two loyal clans of Britain [13]. Sect. VII.

Theſe forces would be all armed after the Britiſh mode, with braſs ſwords, braſs Celts, and ſpears, the dagger, the ſcythed chariot, and the bow. The Britiſh implements of war muſt have been fully ſufficient in themſelves, againſt the ſimilarly armed Britons of the north. The Roman auxiliaries conſtantly retained their own weapons [14]. And the copper ſwords and braſs Celts of the Britons have been diſcovered, as I have already obſerved, wrapt up in Roman-Britiſh linen and attended by Roman-Britiſh coins.

The military diſcipline of the Britons was greatly ſuperiour to the ideas, which are univerſally entertained concerning it. They commonly encamped behind a ſtream, for fear of a ſurprize by night [15]. They lighted their fires, and poſted their centinels, about the camp [16]. And they even had regularly what they denominated "The troop of the night," which was ſtationed at ſome diſtance from the army, to deſcry the remoter approaches of an enemy, and guard the more effectually againſt a ſudden attack [17]. Their commanders frequently

Sect. VII. quently walked the rounds in the dark, and perſonally inſpected the order and diſpoſition of the men [18]. And they had certain appointed ſignals for the night or the day, the ſeveral "voices of their kings, which the warriours "received from the wind, and marked over all their "tribes [19]." Theſe were given either by the general's horn, the beating of his ſhield, or the exertion of his voice [20]. And his target was particularly fitted with ſeveral hollow boſſes, each of which was occaſionally beat upon with his ſpear, and emitted a loud and different ſound [21]. As he ſtruck "the ſhield of his "alarms," the warriours of the night moved on to their poſts [22]. As another boſs was ſounded, the bards acknowledged the ſummons, and immediately attended his perſon [23]. And by one ſignal from the ſhield the troops were ordered inſtantly to advance and begin the fight, as by a ſecond they were commanded to diſcontinue it and retreat [24]. The troops marched up to the attack under the ſounds of their military ſongs, the bards beginning the chaunt, and the men taking it from them; P. 376. till the whole army re-echoed with the ſtoried deeds of their fathers, and with predictions of ruin on their enemies [25]. And the bards conſtantly attended upon the general in the hour of battle. As his aids in the field, they were ready to carry occaſionally his orders to the chiefs [26]. As the poets of the ſtate, they were uſeful to invigorate the fainting courage of the men with ſongs [27]. And, when they chaunted the words of peace, the battle ceaſed on both ſides [28].

Though the Romans modelled the Britiſh troops into cohorts, they left them, as they left all their auxiliaries,

to

Sect. VII.

to follow their own diſcipline in war [29]. But, from the conſtant intermixture of the Britiſh and Roman forces, the officers of the former neceſſarily learnt, and ſometimes occaſionally introduced into their armies afterwards, the diſpoſition that was uſed among the latter. Thus in 556, more than 100 years after the departure of the Romans from the iſland, and at the fight of Beranbury againſt the Saxons, the Britons ranged their numerous army in nine diviſions, three forming the front-line, three the rear-guard, and three the center; and the archers, ſpearmen, and cavalry were drawn up in the Roman order of battle; viris ſagittariis et telorum jaculatoribus equitibuſque *jure Romanorum* diſpoſitis. And, even thirty-five years afterwards, the Britons poſted their troops, like the Romans, in diſtinct diviſions, *more Romanorum* acies diſtinctè admoverent; while the Saxons ruſhed upon them, as at the former engagement, in one cloſe and confuſed column [30].

Thus were all the Britons ſucceſſively called out into ſervice. And thus was a military ſkill continually cultivated among the Britiſh gentlemen, and a military ſpirit as continually kept alive among the Britiſh villains, through the whole period of the Roman reſidence in the iſland.

[1] Dio p. 959.—[2] Tacitus Ann. lib. xii. c. 30.—[3] Oſſian vol. I. p. 130.—[4] Camden p. 137.—[5] Borlaſe p. 283.—[6] Vit. Agric. c. 13. and Gruter.—[7] Agric. V. c. 29. and 32, and Horſeley N° 20 Scotland and 76 Northumberland.—[8] Cæſar p. 135.—[9] Oſſian vol. I. p. 160,

Sect. VII. p. 160, a note. — [10] Birt on the Highlanders vol. II. p. 227, and Pennant's Tour in Scotland p. 164. — [11] Offian vol. I. p. 57. — [12] Cæſar p. 155. — [13] Carte vol. I. p. 211. — [14] Vegetius lib. ii. c. 2. — [15] Offian vol. II. p. 39. — [16] Vol. I. p. 235. — [17] Vol. I. p. 18. — [18] Vol. II. p. 39. — [19] Vol. II. p. 128. — [20] Vol. I. p. 66, 77, &c. — [21] Vol. II. p. 85, 87, 129, and 130. — [22] Vol. I. p. 19. — [23] Vol. II. p. 130. — [24] Vol. II. p. 85 and 87, and Vol. II. p. 56 and 106. — [25] Vol. II. p. 50, and Dio p. 1010. — [26] Vol. I. p. 54. — [27] Vol. I. p. 56. — [28] Vol. I. p. 118 and 140, and Diodorus p. 354, for Bards. See alſo Cæſar p. 90 for addreſs in war. — [29] Vegetius lib. ii. c. 2. — [30] Huntingdon f. 180 and 181. Saville.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

THE MANUFACTURES ESTABLISHED IN BRITAIN BEFORE AND AFTER THE SETTLEMENT OF THE ROMANS—THE FOREIGN AND INLAND COMMERCE OF THE BRITONS—THE STATE OF RELIGION AMONG THEM—AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT BROUGHT IN BY CHRISTIANITY.

I.

WHEN guilt had introduced the principle of shame into the mind, and made a covering requisite to the decencies of the body; when vengeance had charged the seasons with inclemency and armed the elements with unkindness against the votary of sin, and an artificial warmth became necessary to the health of his frame; the skins of beasts would naturally be the first cloathing of man. The flocks and herds about him presented their wooly or hairy garments to his hand. And the Mosaical records demonstrate him to have used them [1]. This species of cloathing continued regularly among the descendants of Adam, for a long succession of ages. And our own Britons, in particular, retained it to the days of Cæsar [2]. But it was probably prepared in various manners, and modelled into P. 377.

Sect. I. into various ſhapes. And, even in ſkins, elegance would naturally ſucceed to convenience.

The next improvement in the drapery of man, would be to ſeparate the fleece from the hide, reſign the latter to the tent or the couch, and combine the former by itſelf into veſts. And this appears to have been done within a few ages after the diſperſion [3]. Begun originally in the eaſt, it muſt afterwards have taken its courſe into the weſt. But the mere refinements of dreſs will always ſpread very ſlowly through nations military and roving. This, in particular, ſeems
P. 378. not to have made its entrance into Britain till fourteen or fifteen ages afterwards, and a hundred or a hundred and fifty years before the period of Cæſar's invaſion. At that æra, the uſe of woolen veſtures was nearly confined to the Belgæ of the ſouth. And moſt of the original Britons retained the dreſſes of their fathers [4].

When the county of Lancaſter ſtooped with a forced ſubjection to the arms and with a chearful ſubmiſſion to the virtues of Agricola, many woolen manufactures were carried on with ſucceſs within the circuit of the Roman empire [5]. A very conſiderable one was particularly eſtabliſhed in Gaul. This was of the plaided drapery which I have mentioned before [6]. And it had been long proſecuted by the inhabitants of that country [7]. In the open commerce, therefore, which was carried on betwixt them and the iſlanders, it muſt naturally have been wafted over into Britain. And it was actually introduced by the commercial coloniſts on its coaſts; who appear equally to have uſed the drapery among

among them, and to have not imported it from the continent [8]. This was the original commencement of a manufacture in Britain, which has ſince been of ſuch political conſequence to the nation, the ſource of all our wealth, and the baſis of all our power! But it could not long have been confined within the pale of the Belgick ſtates. Even in the days of Cæſar, ſeveral of the Britiſh monarchs ſeem already to have introduced it into their own kingdoms, as their ſubjects generally clad themſelves in woolen [9]. And from them it would eaſily be diffuſed, and appears to have been actually ſpread, over the whole face of the iſland [10]. The Highlanders were in the third century, and are to this day, poſſeſſed of a manufacture of plaiding; and the ſtriped mantles which are made of it they denominate Breacan. And the Welſh had equally a manufacture in the twelfth, and the coarſe rough cloth which they fabricated was popularly known among them by the ſimilar appellation of Brychan [10]. Such was the firſt introduction of a woolen manufacture into Lancaſhire, which has ſince been of ſo conſiderable importance to it, the origin of its commerce, and the occaſion of its greatneſs!

Sect. I.

This, however, could have made but little progreſs in Lancaſhire, before the Romans advanced into the county. The monarch had probably invited artiſts with their implements from the ſouth; and each baron perhaps had a loom in the offices of his houſe, worked by ſome of his own retainers, and furniſhing himſelf and his family with this agreeable cloathing. But the manufacture of the Britons muſt

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Sect. I. muſt have been greatly improved by the Romans. And the woolen one of Lancaſhire, in particular, was probably carried by them nearly to all that ſtandard of mixt perfection, at which it was proſecuted about two or three centuries ago among us.

The woolen drapery would naturally be prior to the linen in its origin. And the fibrous plant, from which the threads of the latter are produced, ſeems to have been firſt noticed by the eye, and firſt worked up into cloth by the hand, of the inhabitants of Egypt. That, at leaſt, is the earlieſt kingdom which we find poſſeſſed of the drapery. And there the origin of the manufacture appears to have been remarkably early, as even at the æra of Joſeph's adminiſtration it had riſen to a very conſiderable degree of refinement [11]. For many centuries afterwards, the Egyptians had large plantations of flax among them, and Egypt remained the great ſtaple of the linen trade [12]. From this kingdom it was probably carried with every other art into Greece, and plainly appears from its Greek appellation among the Romans to have been brought by the Græcians into Italy. And Italy carried her military ſettlements and her linen manufacture together, into Spain, Gaul, Germany, and Britain [13].

Flax appears to have been originally a native of the eaſt, the weſtern being merely a degenerate ſpecies of it. And the eaſtern is conſtantly imported among us at preſent. But it was firſt planted in the ſoil of Britain by the Romans. And the preſent manner of working it into cloth is evidently Roman. Being plucked up by the roots, and formed into bundles for the

the hand, it was hung up to dry in the ſun, and afterwards ſteeped in a river or pool. When the plant was ſufficiently macerated in the water, it was dried in the ſun again, and beaten upon a ſtone with a mallet. The interiour and finer filaments being extracted, and fifteen pounds deduced from fifty, it was carried to the diſtaff, and wound into thread. And it was afterwards ſoftened and ſmoothed by being frequently taken out of the water and daſhed againſt flints, was woven into cloth, and then beaten with keys [14]. Sect. I. P. 380.

This linen or flaxen manufacture was probably introduced into the iſland with the firſt ſettlements of the Romans in it. And the coarſer one of hemp was introduced as probably with both. Hence the Roman appellation for the latter, Cannabis, is ſtrongly reſounded in the Kanab of the Armoricans and Kannaib of the Iriſh, and ſoftly echoed in the Saxon Hænep and the Engliſh Hemp. And it ſeems to have been brought equally from the eaſt with flax. In the firſt century, the beſt European hemp was imported from Aſia. And the plant was not then very common in Italy [15].

The naval cordage of the earlier ages was in all probability thongs of leather. The hide which covered the tent, formed the bed, and cloathed the body, would naturally offer the moſt obvious ſupply of it to the mind of man. And the Caledonians retained theſe primitive ropes in the third century [16]. The nations to the north of the Baltick had them in the ninth or tenth [17]. And the inhabitants of the weſtern iſles of Scotland make uſe of them at preſent; cutting the ſkin of a ſeal or the raw and ſalted hide of a cow into long pieces, and faſtening the plough to their

Sect. I. horſes with them, or even twiſting them into ſtrong ropes of 20 or 30 fathoms in length [18]. But theſe, in the ſouth of our iſland and on the continent, were early ſuperſeded by the application of iron chains to this purpoſe. The very maritime and commercial nation of the Veneti, that was ſo intimately connected with the Belgæ of Britain, had iron chains for its cables in the days of Cæſar [18]. And the aſtoniſhing temple of Stonehenge, which lies in the dominions of the Belgæ, and was plainly the work of their improved architecture, could not have been conſtructed without the aſſiſtance of chains. But in the more diſtant and refined countries of the ſouth, both thongs and theſe had long given way to the uſe of vegetable threads, and the arts of combining them into ſtrength. In this manner the Greeks appear to have uſed the common ruſhes of their country, and the Carthaginians the ſpartum or broom of Spain [19]. And, as all the cordage of the Romans was made of theſe materials at their laſt deſcent on our iſland [19], ſo the art of manufacturing them would neceſſarily be introduced with the Roman ſettlements among us. Under the direction of Roman artiſts, our thongs of leather would be laid aſide, and the junci or ruſhes of our plains worked up into cordage. And, what remarkably coincides with the opinion, the remnants of old cables and ropes are ſtill diſtinguiſhed among our ſailors by the appellation of old junk.

P. 381.

The nations of Roman Britain, and the tribes of Caledonia and Ireland, had inherited from their earlieſt anceſtors many of the ruder arts of navigation [20]. Their ſhips were large open boats, framed of light timbers, ribbed with hurdles, and lined with hides [21].

And

Sect. I.

And they tranſported ſmall armies in them from South-Britain to Gaul, from Caledonia to Ireland, and from Ireland to Silley [22]. Theſe were furniſhed with maſts and ſails. And the latter were formed of hides, as the tackle was of thongs. They were actually of hides among the Veneti on the continent, as late as the days of Cæſar [23]. And they were never furled, being only bound to the maſt [24]. But theſe ſlight ſea-boats and their rude furniture would ſoon be diſmiſſed by the provincials, for the more ſubſtantial veſſels and more artificial ſails of the Romans. The Roman ſails, which were compoſed of flax in the days of Agricola [25], were afterwards made of hemp; and our own are therefore denominated Cannabis or Canvaſs by our mariners at preſent. And about the ſame period aſſuredly did the junk of the Britiſh cordage give way to the ſame materials; the uſe of hempen ropes upon land, and of hempen nets for hunting, being very common among the Romans in the firſt century [26].

The commencement of letters I have already ſhown to have been conſiderably previous to the flood. Theſe were firſt inſcribed perhaps, according to the tradition of the heathens, upon the broad leaves of the palm [27]. And palm-leaves, the bark of various trees, ſheets of lead and linen, and tables of wax, were ſucceſſively uſed as the paper of the antients. The famous reed of Egypt, which furniſhed the firſt materials and gave the preſent denomination to paper, was diſcovered a little before the death of Alexander, and for a long time ſuppoſed to be peculiar to the Nile. And the exportation of it being occaſionally prohibited, as the kings of P. 382.

Sect. I. Egypt and Attalia contended with each other in the growing magnificence of their libraries; and the ſagacity of the human underſtanding being excited by emulation; a new ſpecies of paper was invented at Pergamus in the latter, and denominated Pergamenum or Parchment [28]. But the reed was afterwards found equally in other parts of the eaſt. And all the paper of the Romans was made of it, at their firſt entrance among and for many ages after their departure from us [29]. The Britons, who had no letters, could have no paper. And the Romans introduced both it and parchment into Britain. Hence the former is denominated Pappyr among the Welſh, Paper and Pabaur in Armorick, and Phaipear in Iriſh. The latter has alſo received from the Roman Pergamenum the appellation of Parſhemin among the Armoricans, and from the Roman Membrana [30] that of Memrun in Welſh and Meambrun in Iriſh. And a coarſe manufacture of both would naturally be introduced with the knowledge of them.

The inhabitants of Britain were equally unacquainted with the making of ſalt. This agreeable and uſeful ſeaſoning of our food, during the reigns of Auguſtus and Tiberius, was imported by foreign merchants into the ſouth-weſtern parts of the iſland [31]. And, had it been made at all in the kingdom, it would have been within that region of it particularly, and in ſuch quantities as, under the circumſtances of the country, would have abſolutely prevented any importation. The Romans had long been acquainted with the art [32]. And they brought it very early into Britain. The firſt attempt

tempt would naturally be the eaſieſt, and confined to the margin of the ſea. And a very conſiderable quantity of the fineſt and firmeſt ſalt, in Europe, appears to have been made upon the ſhores of Britain in the fourth century [33]. But the Romans had been long inſtructed to ſearch for the ſprings of brine in the ground, and to boil the water into cakes [34]. And they actually opened ſome pits before the middle of the ſecond century. The firſt were probably the Salinæ which were ſituated in the country of the Cattieuchlani or Caſſii, and perhaps at Salndy in Bedfordſhire; which are expreſsly mentioned by Ptolemy, but are now unknown and loſt [35]. About the ſame period or very ſoon after it, others were ſunk at Droitwich in Worceſterſhire [36]. And, poſteriourly to both, the Romans diſcovered the ſalt-ſprings of Cheſhire, and opened the requiſite wells to them [37]. Theſe were the preſent pits of Northwich. The ſpring at Condate or Kinderton lies ſixteen or ſeventeen yards below the ſurface: but at Northwich it riſes into light. The latter therefore would naturally be diſcovered before the former, though that was at the diſtance of three or four miles from the Roman ſtation, and this within the area of it; as the mines of ſolid ſalt at Northwich lay concealed in the ground, and unknown to us all, till the year 1670. And the towns of Salndy perhaps, and certainly of Northwich and Droitwich, aroſe ſucceſſively in conſequence of theſe brine-pits, and were conſtructed in the immediate vicinity of them [38].

Sect. I.

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Sect. I. [1] Gen. xxxi. 21.—[2] Cæſar p. 89.—[3] Gen. xiv. 23, xxxviii. 12, and xxxvii. 34.—[4] Cæſar p. 89.—[5] Pliny lib. viii. c. 48.—[6] Pliny ibid. and Strabo p. 301.—[7] Strabo ibid.—[8] Cæſar p. 89, Interiores pellibus ſunt veſtiti, and Strabo p. 305 and 307. for imports.—[9] Cæſar p. 89, Plerique interiores pellibus ſunt veſtiti.—[10] Oſſian vol. I. p. 140. and 156. In the latter page we have the robe of an Iriſh or extra-provincial woman mentioned. And in the former we have that of a provincial oppoſed to it. "She is ſeen, Malvina, but "not like the daughters of the Hill; her robes are "from the ſtrangers land."—And for the preſent Highlanders ſee Birt's Letters v. II. p. 143, Martin's Weſtern Iſlands p. 57, and Crit. Diſſ. p. 166; and for the Welſh of the twelfth century Giraldus Cambrenſis p. 888.—[11] Gen. xli. 42.—[12] Exodus ix. 21. and Pliny lib. xix. c. 1.—[13] See Pliny ibid. And all theſe nations therefore have equally adopted the Roman appellation for flax or linen, and retain it with little variation at preſent.—[14] Ibid.—[15] Pliny lib. xix. c. 9.—
P. 384. [16] Oſſian vol. I. p. 106.—[17] See Alfredi Vita per Spelmannum p. 205. for king Alfred's preface to his verſion of Oroſius.—[18] Harris's Weſtern Iſles, p. 65.—Cæſar p. 55, Strabo p. 297, and ſect. 3.—[19] Pliny lib. xix. c. 2.—[20] Cæſar p. 240, and Pliny lib. iv. c. 16.—[21] Cæſar and Pliny ibid. and Solinus c. 22.—[22] Oſſian vol. I. p. 106 and 41, and Cæſar p. 73. And Cæſar tranſported troops in ſuch boats acroſs a great river in Spain (p. 240).—[23] Cæſar p. 55, and Dio p. 212.

Sect. I.

212. From this account of the ſtate of navigation among the Caledonians of the weſtern coaſt, Solinus appears to have been miſtaken in c. 22, where he repreſents the paſſage acroſs the Iriſh ſea to have been ſo dangerous in thoſe curroghs. And in the iſle of Sky they uſed theſe leathern boats upon all ordinary occaſions within theſe hundred years (Crit. Diſſert. p. 325). But this point has been more amply treated, ſince the firſt edition, in the Genuine Hiſtory of the Britons Aſſerted againſt Mr. Macpherſon, p. 178—181. And to both accounts let me add, That in the time of Columba, who lived in the ſixth century, we ſee a veſſel lined with leather, pelliceum tectum, navis penetrales, which went with oars and ſails, and had ſeveral mariners on board, ſcudding before a ſtorm plenis velis, for fourteen days together, without foundering; carried to the north beyond the track of any former navigators, ultra humani excurſûs modum; and yet, after all, ſafely gaining her port (Adamnan's Life of Columba, written in the eighth century, l. ii. c. 42. p. 362, in Colgan's Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ v. II).—[24] Oſſian v. I. p. 41, 45, and 75.—[25] Pliny Proem. and c. i. l. 19.—[26] Pliny c. ii. and ix. l. 19.—[27] Pliny c. xi. l. 13.—[28] Ibid.—[29] Ibid.—[30] Ibid.—[31] Strabo p. 265.—[32] Pliny c. vii. l. 31.—[33] Camden p. 194.—[34] Pliny c. vii. l. 31.—[35] Ptolemy, Camden c. 339, and Itin. Cur. p. 74.—[36] Richard's tenth Iter and Ravennas.—[37] Derventione, Salinis; Condate, in Ravennas.—[38] Mines of rock-ſalt were known to the antients: Sunt et montes nativi ſalis, ſays Pliny, ut in Indis Oromenus, in quo lapidicinarum modo cæditur renaſcens; lib. xxxi. c. 7.

II.

THE firſt foreign commerce of the Britons was occaſioned by the reſort of the Phœnicians to their coaſts. Theſe bold adventurers in navigation and traffick, having planted colonies at Carthage and Cadiz, and ranging along the borders of the great un-traverſed ocean on the weſt, reached the ſouth-weſtern promontories of Britain, and entered into a trading correſpondence with the inhabitants of it. And the real ſingularity and commercial conſequences of the voyage gave great reputation to the officer that conducted it, and have occaſioned the name of Midacritus to be tranſmitted with honour to poſterity. Midacritus brought
P. 385. the firſt veſſel of the Phœnicians to our coaſts. And Midacritus opened the firſt commerce of the Phœnicians with our fathers. He found the country to abound particularly with tin, which was equally uſeful and rare. He trafficked with the Britons for it. And he returned home with a valuable cargo of the metal [1].

Such was the firſt faint effort of the commercial genius of Britain, which was afterwards to conduct the veſſels of the iſland to the ſhores of Carthage and Tyre, and even to raiſe the Britons ſuperiour in boldneſs and ſkill to the Phœnicians! And it was made ſome years before the time of Herodotus, and about the period of the population of Lancaſhire, about five centuries before the æra of Chriſt [2]. The Belgæ were not yet landed in the iſland. The original Britons poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed all the ſouthern parts of it [3]. And the trade was opened with the natives of the Caſſiterides or Silley iſlands [4]. Theſe were then only ten in number, though they are now more than a hundred and forty; and only nine of them were inhabited as late as the reign of Tiberius [5]. But there was one greatly ſuperiour in ſize to the reſt, which was therefore diſtinguiſhed by the general appellation of the whole, being denominated Caſſiteris Inſula or the Tin-iſland [5]. This was the firſt land of Britain which the Phœnicians reached, and with which Midacritus began the traffick for tin [6]. It was known amongſt the Britons by the appellation of Silura, evidently the origin of the preſent name of the whole [7]. And it was then a conſiderable iſland, being ſeparated only by a dangerous ſtrait from the ſhore of Cornwall [7], and reaching beyond the preſent uninhabited iſlet of Silley. The iſles of Brehar, Guel, Treſcaw, St. Martin's, and St. Sampſon's, the rocks and iſlets adjoining to all, and St. Mary's and the Eaſtern iſles, all compoſed this original iſland. And large banks ſtill extend from St. Martin's nearly to St. Mary's and the Eaſtern, which are uncovered at low water, and have only a depth of four feet at high. Guel and Brehar, now half a mile diſtant from the rock of Silley, appear plainly to have been once connected with it. And Treſcaw, Brehar, St. Martin's, St. Sampſon's, and their adjoining iſlets, were once evidently united together. Sands run from Brehar to Treſcaw, and may ſometimes be croſſed on foot. Betwixt Treſcaw, Brehar, and St. Sampſon's, the flats are laid entirely bare at the receſs of a ſpring-tide,

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Sect. II. tide, and a dry paſſage is opened acroſs the ſand-banks from one to the other. In theſe, over which the tide riſes ten or twelve feet in depth, hedges and walls of ſtone are frequently diſcloſed by the ſhifting of the ſands. And from the general remains of ſtone-hedges, ſtone-walls, and contiguous houſes, and from the number of barrows which are diſperſed over the face of them all, the whole appears to have been fully cultivated and thoroughly inhabited [8].

This iſland was peculiarly repleniſhed with mines of tin, though the preſent remains of it exhibit no traces of the antient works, and ſcarce any appearances of the antient metal. But in the month of May 1767 a rich vein of tin was diſcovered in St. Mary's, I think, which bore directly into the ſea, and pointed towards the ſhore of Cornwall; and even many of them were known to be well ſtored with the metal within theſe two centuries. And the cargo which Midacritus brought from the iſland, and the account which he gave of it and its iſles, occaſioned a regular reſort of the Phœnicians to the coaſts of Silley. The trade was very advantageous to the ſtate. And the track was ſolicitouſly concealed by the publick [9].

Thus continued the traffick of Britain for nearly three hundred years, being eſteemed the moſt beneficial in Europe, and carefully ſought after by all the commercial powers in the Mediterranean [10]. The Greeks of Marſeilles firſt followed the courſe of the Phœnician voyagers; and ſome time before the days of Po-
P. 387. lybius, and about two hundred years before the age of Chriſt, began to ſhare with them in the trade of tin.

tin [11]. The Carthaginian commerce declined. The Maſſylian increaſed. And, in the reign of Auguſtus, the whole current of the Britiſh traffick had been gradually diverted into this channel [12]. At that period the trade of the iſland was very conſiderable. Two roads (as I have formerly mentioned [13]) were laid acroſs it, and reached from Sandwich to Caernarvon on one ſide and from Dorſetſhire into Suffolk on the other; and the commerce of the ſhores was carried along them into the interiour parts of the country. The great ſtaple of the tin was no longer ſettled in a diſtant corner of the iſland. It was removed from Silley, and fixed in the iſle of Wight, a central part of the coaſt, lying equally betwixt the two roads, and better adapted to the new arrangements of the trade [14]. Thither the tin was brought by the Belgæ, and thither the foreign merchants reſorted with their wares. And the trade was no longer carried on by veſſels that coaſted tediouſly along the ſhores of Spain and Gaul. The tin was now tranſported over the neighbouring channel, unſhipped on the oppoſite coaſt, and ſent upon horſes acroſs the land or by boats along the rivers to Marſeilles and Narbonne [14]. And the Veneti of Gaul were the merchants, that reſorted to the iſle of Wight with their veſſels, that bartered with the Britons for their metal, and tranſmitted it acroſs the continent afterwards [14].

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This iſle, which is now ſeparated from the remainder of Hampſhire by a channel little more than half a mile in breadth about the point of Hurſt-caſtle, was then a part of the greater iſland, disjoined from it only by the

Sect. II. the tide, and united to it at the ebb [15]. And, during the receſs of the waters, the Britons conſtantly paſſed over the low iſthmus of land with their cart-loads of tin [15]. This was alſo the caſe with many other places on the ſoutherly ſhore of Britain, which appeared as iſlands only on the tide of flood, and became peninſulas at the ebb [15]. And it is curious to mark the different operations of the ſea upon the ſeveral parts of our coaſt. It has gained conſiderably upon the ſhore of Yorkſhire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Eſſex, the eaſtern coaſt of Kent, and that of Suſſex, Hampſhire, Dorſet-
P. 388. ſhire, and Cornwall [16]. Within theſe forty years it has greatly uſurped upon the Silley iſlands [17]; and even from May 1766 to May 1767, as I am informed, encroached near forty inches upon one of them. And theſe gradual and ſucceſſive depredations are aſſuredly the cauſe, which has been ſo vainly explored in the annals of hiſtory, and has reduced the Silley iſlands to their preſent condition. Theſe, and not the violence of an earthquake or a tempeſt, have widened the narrow ſtrait of Solinus into an expanſe of forty miles, have covered half the great iſland of Silura with the waters of the ocean, and left only its mountains and promontories riſing like ſo many iſlets above the face of the waves. And theſe appear from the recent ravages in the iſlands, to be a cauſe fully adequate to the effect [17]. The ſea alſo has greatly plundered the coaſts of North-Devonſhire, Pembrokeſhire, and Cardiganſhire [18]. But it has reſigned a part of its original domain on the ſouthern ſhore of Kent, in Lincolnſhire, and Lancaſhire. In Kent it has retreated from the beach

beach of Sandwich, has ſunk the ſmall æſtuary of Solinus into an inſignificant current, and converted the fine harbour of Rhutupæ, where the Roman fleet was regularly laid up, into a valley watered with a river [19]. In Lincolnſhire it has added a conſiderable quantity of ground to the coaſt, and left many thouſands of acres betwixt the old bank of its waters and the preſent margin of its ſhore [20]. And in Lancaſhire the ſands, which originally formed the beach of the ſea, and were covered every tide with its waters, are now regularly inhabited. They are ſtill diſtinguiſhed among us by the appellation which they received from the Britons, and which is equally common to the ſea-ſands of Lincolnſhire, Norfolk, and Wales, that of Meales or looſe quaggy lands [21]. But looſe as they once were by nature, and quaggy as they were made by the overflowing of the tide, they are now cultivated, a parochial church has been erected, and a village conſtructed upon them. Sect. II.

In this ſtate of the Britiſh commerce, the commodities imported into the iſland were earthen-ware, ſalt, and braſs both wrought and in bullion [22]. And tin was not, as it had been originally, the only export of the iſland. It ſtill remained the principal article of our foreign trade [23]. But with it were exported gold, ſilver, iron, and lead; hides, cattle, corn, and ſlaves; dogs, gems, and muſcle-pearls [24]; poliſhed horſe-bits of bone, horſe-collars, amber toys, and glaſs veſſels [25]. P. 389.

Such was the nature of our foreign traffick, when the Romans ſettled among us. And it inſtantly received a conſiderable improvement from them. This appears from

Sect. II. from that very remarkable circumſtance in the interiour hiſtory of the iſland, the ſudden riſe and commercial importance of London within a few years after their ſettlement in the country [26]. And the trade was no longer carried on by the two great roads to the ſouthern ſhore, or the ſtaple continued in the iſle of Wight. The principal commerce ſtill appears to have been confined to the ſouth, and to the counties of Middleſex, Kent, Suſſex, and Hampſhire. But it was alſo diffuſed over the whole extent of the Roman conqueſts, and carried on directly from the weſtern and eaſtern ſhores as well as the ſouthern. And new ports were opened on every ſide of the iſland, moſt indeed about the ſouth-eaſtern angle of it, but ſome along the eaſtern and weſtern coaſts. Thus Middleſex had the port of London, Kent the ports of Rhutupæ, Dubris, and Lemanis, Suſſex thoſe of Adurnum, Anderida, and Novus, and Hampſhire that of Magnus [27]. And Yorkſhire had its port Felix on one ſide, and Lancaſhire its port Siſtuntian on the other [28]. Theſe were evidently the commercial harbours of the Roman Britons. Had they been merely the uſeful bays on the coaſts, as they muſt have been much more conſiderable in number, and mentioned upon every part of our ſhores, ſo would they have been equally noticed upon the coaſts of Caledonia and Ireland.

P. 390. They were all of them harbours firſt uſed by the Romans; they had all of them cities firſt raiſed by the Romans upon them; and under the Romans they became conſiderable ports for commerce [29]. And the articles introduced into the iſland at them, were the many which I have previouſly mentioned to have been brought into

Britain by the Romans, and ſugar, pepper, ginger, writing-paper, and other ſimilar commodities perhaps, beſides them. The ſaccharum or ſugar of the Romans, like our own, was the extracted honey of a cane, was brought from Arabia or India, and uſed only for medicinal purpoſes [30]. And all theſe ſpices appear from their Roman-Britiſh appellations to have been firſt imported among us by the Romans. And the articles ſent out of the iſland muſt have been partly the ſame as before, and the additional ones of gagates or jet, the Britiſh being the beſt and moſt copious in Europe [31], and of the ſilvery marle or chalk of Kent and Eſſex, which was ſhipped off for the marſhy countries on the Rhine [32]; bears for the foreign amphitheaters, baſkets, ſalt, corn, and oyſters [32]. Sect. II.

Such was the foreign commerce of the iſland during the reſidence of the Romans among us. And ſuch muſt have been, in part or in whole, that of our Lancaſhire harbour. This indeed was not merely the port of a ſingle county. It was the only commercial harbour along the whole line of the weſtern coaſt, and had no rival from the Cluyd to the Land's-End. And the exports of the neighbouring country, the lead of Derbyſhire and the ſalt of Cheſhire, the corn, the cattle, and the hides of the whole, muſt have been all ſhipped at the port of the Ribble. The Britiſh dogs were a very gainful article of traffick to the Romans [33]. And, as all the interiour parts of Britain, then firſt turned up by the plough, would produce the moſt luxuriant harveſts at firſt, ſo the whole iſland freighted no leſs than eight hundred veſſels with corn, every year, for the continent [34].

Thus

Sect. II. Thus was a foreign commerce firſt introduced into Lancaſhire, where it now flouriſhes in ſo vigorous a ſtate, and has branched out to ſo large an extent. And P. 391. the firſt ſcene of its reſidence was upon the banks of the beautiful Ribble. The voice of tradition aſſerts, and the diſcovery of ruins evinces, the village of Ribcheſter to have been once a very conſiderable city, ſuperiour to Mancheſter in grandeur, and excelling perhaps all the towns of the north in wealth. And the commerce of the Siſtuntian port is the only aſſignable reaſon, and that was aſſuredly the cauſe, of all its particular importance. It enjoyed the emoluments of an extenſive trade. And in conſequence of that it flouriſhed.

Ribcheſter was not, like Freckleton, neceſſarily planted upon a diſagreeable ſite, that had a large range of marſhy grounds on both ſides of the river, overflowed with the waters at every tide, and loading the air with exhalations at every receſs. Like London, it was fixed at a diſtance from the ſea; and had, like it, the advantage of a fine air, from the dry nature of the ſoil around it and the lively flow of the river before it. And the Roman town at the Neb of the Neſe was only as the Greenock of Glaſgow, the Shields of Newcaſtle, or the Freckleton of Preſton, at preſent. It would be inhabited ſolely by ſuch, as were retained in the more immediate ſervice of the veſſels. And all the traders would reſide, and all the commercial buſineſs be tranſacted, at Ribcheſter. The exports of the neighbouring diſtricts would be carried to Ribcheſter, lodged in the warehouſes of the town, and ſent in boats to the

veſſels in the harbour. And the imports for them would be unſhipped in the harbour, ſent in boats up to Ribcheſter, and diſperſed from it over the country. Sect. II.

[1] Pliny lib. vii. c. 56. — [2] Herodotus p. 254, Weſſelingius.—The teſtimony of Herodotus carries the Phœnician arrival up to 440 or 450. And the progreſs of population in Britain and in Ireland, as it has been already and will hereafter be deſcribed (b. I. ch. xii. ſ. 4.), forbids it to be carried beyond the year 500.— [3] Richard p. 50. — [4] Pliny lib. vii. c. 56. — [5] Strabo p. 265. — [6] Pliny lib. vii. c. 56. — [7] Solinus c. 22.— [8] Borlaſe's Scilly Iſlands p. 53, 58, 59, 62, 63, and 85. — [9] Harriſon's D. of E. prefixed to Hollingſhead's Chron. 1586, p. 34.—Herodotus p. 254. and Strabo p. 265.— [10] Strabo ibid.— [11] Polybius, who lived about 180 years before Chriſt, p. 290 and 291. Amſtel. 1670. — [12] Strabo p. 305. — [13] Ch. iii. ſ. 3. — [14] Diodorus p. 347, and Strabo p. 297. See alſo Richard p. 4 and Cæſar p. 52. — [15] Diodorus ibid. — [16] Camden c. 899, 467, 411, 211, 237, 199, 205, &c.— [17] Borlaſe p. 88.

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It is Dr. Borlaſe, who has aſcribed this effect to an earthquake &c., and endeavoured to fix it at a very diſtant period. But, as I have here ſhewn the ravages of the ſea to have ariſen from certain gradual and progreſſive cauſes, ſo they ſeem not to have reduced the iſlands to any thing like their preſent ſtate, till theſe three or four centuries. "The violence of the ſea" (ſays Harriſon in his Deſcription of England, dated 1586) "hath devoured the greateſt part of Cornewall and De-

Sect. II.

" vonſhire on either ſide: and it doth appeere yet by good " record, that whereas now there is a great diſtance be- " tweene the Syllan Iſles and point of the land's end, " there was of late yeares, to ſpeke of, ſcarſelie a brooke " or draine of one fadam water betweene them, if ſo " much, as by thoſe evidences appeereth, and are yet to " be ſeene in the hands of the lord and chiefe owner of " thoſe iſles" (Prefixed to Hollingſhead's Chron. p. 236, 1586). The diſtance here betwixt Cornwall and the Sylley iſles is certainly contracted too much. But the whole ſerves ſtrongly to ſhew the original diſtance between them to have continued a good while below the Conqueſt.

[18] Camden c. 47 and 757. — [19] Richard p. 17 and Solinus c. 22. — [20] Itin. Curioſ. p. 5, 11, and 15. — [21] Itin. Cur. p. 119, Camden c. 468, and Mona p. 14 and 115. There is alſo a large plain on the edge of the ſea near Hyll-lake in Cheſhire, which is equally called Mels or Meals, where general Schomberg encamped his army before it was embarked for the reduction of Ireland, in the reign of King William (Leigh's N. Hiſt. p. 29).—And it is this, I ſuppoſe, which has given the name of North Meales to ours in Lancaſhire. —[22] Strabo p. 265 and Cæſar p. 88.—[23] Diodorus p. 347.—[24] Mela lib. iii. c. 6.—[25] Strabo p. 265, 305, and 307.—[26] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 33.—[27] Tacitus ibid., Antoninus's Iter 3 and 4. and Richard's Iter 15, Notitia, Richard Iter 15, and Ptolemy.—[28] Ptolemy and Richard p. 27. — [29] Antoninus and Richard ibid., Richard p. 27 and 18, and Iter 15.—[30] Pliny lib. xii. c. 8. — [31] Solinus c. 22. And in Bede's time it was

very plentiful and good, gagatem plurimum optimumque (Hiſt. lib. i. c. 1). — [32] Martial lib. Spect. Ep. 7. and lib. xiv. E. 99, Camden p. 194, Juvenal Sat. 4, and Camden p. 2. And in Cannigeter de Brittenburgo, Hagæ Comitum, 1734, is this inſcription found in Zealand, p. 14, Deæ Nehalenniæ ob merces rectè conſervatas Secundus Silvanus *Negotiator Cretarius Britannicianius* votum ſolvit lubens merito. It is alſo, with a little variation, in Reineſius p. 190 and Gale's Antoninus p. 43.—[33] Gratius p. 26.—[34] Camden p. 2. Sect. II.

III.

THESE were the multiplied advantages, which our Britiſh anceſtors received from the ſettlement of the Romans among them. The mechanical arts, that had been previouſly purſued in the county, were conſiderably improved. And arts before unknown were brought into it. The varied treaſures of our ſoil were now firſt diſcovered or better collected. Our ſocieties were combined into cities, our manners refined into politeneſs, and our minds enlightened with learning. And agriculture, manufactures, and commerce were eſtabliſhed among the natives of Lancaſhire and Mancheſter. P. 393.

Theſe were very conſiderable advantages reſulting to both. But they were attended by another which was far ſuperiour to them all, and in compariſon of which all theſe united together muſt abſolutely ſink into nothing. This is that great and momentous event, the

Sect. III. introduction of Chriſtianity among the Britons. Under the government of the Romans, and ſpeeded by the communication which their empire had opened betwixt Judæa and Britain, Chriſtianity was introduced among the natives of the north. And the inhabitants of Manchester were now called upon to turn away from that darkneſs and depravity, in which they had unhappily continued from their firſt ſettlement among the woods and moſſes of this diſtrict.

When, by the dread ſin of our great repreſentative in paradiſe, corruption was firſt admitted into the ſpiritual world, ignorance was equally introduced with it into the intellectual. And as the former proceeded in her work, gradually tainting the principles of the moral life, the latter followed regularly behind, and as gradually clouded the powers of the moral diſcernment. In this ſtate of the human conſtitution, the heart fuming up to the head, and vicioufneſs in the one diffuſing darkneſs over the other, the original religion of man would ſoon be coloured with folly. The mind, chained down to ſenſitive gratifications, and brooding perpetually over ſenſitive ideas, muſt ſoon begin to loſe its
P. 394. native elaſticity of ſpirit in the conſideration of religion. And many of its ideas concerning it would quickly become material and bodily. The ſoul of the generality could no longer riſe of itſelf to the contemplation of that world of ſpirits, with which it was ſo intimately connected; and to the adoration of that ſpiritual Lord, to whom it was ſo immediately ſubjected. It required ſome corporeal repreſentation, ſome ſubſtituted and imaginary reſemblance, to be planted before the eye, in order to aſſiſt its

ideas

ideas and call out its devotions. Hence the ſpreading tree was ſelected and the lofty pillar raiſed, as an emblem of God and an object in prayer. And the awful Majeſty of heaven and earth was regularly worſhipped through the medium of one or the other. Sect. III.

On this principle, probably, was the firſt introduction of images into the ſervices of the Heathens. On this, certainly, was the firſt admiſſion of them ſince into the devotions of Chriſtians. And aſſociated vice and folly muſt ſoon have molded religion into a more corporeal ſyſtem. Accuſtomed to ſenſible objects in devotion, and weakened in her faculties by ſin, the mind would ſoon loſe all the ſpiritual ideas of worſhip, and retain only the exteriour and bodily. And this we have ſince ſeen to have been unhappily the caſe among the Chriſtians of the Roman church, in a leſs vitiated ſtate of the human mind, and under the advantage of a greater illumination. Among the groſs intellects of the generality, the worſhip in both ſoon ceaſed to be directed to God, and reſted entirely in the image of him.

Thus, in all probability, was the adoration of the pillar and the tree brought at firſt into the world. And the Britons adopted the idolatry. They worſhipped the flouriſhing oak [1]. They adored the maſſy column [2].

Matter being once made univerſally the object of prayer, the mind would naturally wander over the creation, and ſelect ſuch parts of it as appeared moſt ſplendid and important. The ſun and moon, therefore, would firſt engage her attention; and for the ſame reaſon appear to have been more the general objects of devotion, than any other parts of our material ſyſtem. The pla-

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nets, the elements, and the ocean; mountains, rivers, and rocks; imaginary intelligences, and departed ſpirits; would next riſe in ſucceſſion to the world the ſenſeleſs deities of abuſed reaſon. And all of theſe probably, and moſt of them certainly, were the national divinities of Britain [3].

Amidſt theſe wild wanderings of diſordered religion, the two primary inſtitutions of God, prieſts and ſacrifices, and the three principal doctrines of a ſuperintending Providence, the world's final deſtruction, and the ſoul's continuance in a future period of exiſtence, were all carefully retained by the Britons [4]. The great incident of the fall occaſioned the inſtitutions at firſt. And it was ſtill pointed out by the obſervances. If the Deity had not known man to have ſunk from his original perfection, and if heatheniſm had not believed a corruption to have ſtained his original purity, the former could not have enjoined or the latter have retained theſe particular obſervances at all. The appointment of interceding miniſters and the eſtabliſhment of conciliating ſacrifices were obviouſly made on account of, and muſt as obviouſly have indicated in their uſe, ſome fixed but erazeable taint of impurity in man, and ſome permanent but appeaſable principle of anger in God. And theſe were retained by all the heathens. But the doctrines of a Providence, the ſoul's immortality, and the world's deſtruction, were almoſt confined to the Britons. And they remained among them peculiar incentives to moral actions. In that vitiated tone of the human mind, however, the united force of all theſe was weak. The doctrine of

the

the ſoul's immortality had the abuſive notion of tranſ- Sect. III.
migration engrafted upon it [5]. The prieſts were pol-
luted with human ſacrifices [6]. And, as I have ſhewed
before, the people were guilty of the greateſt impuri-
ties and even of inceſtuous mixtures [7].

But there was ſomething in the Druidical ſpecies of heatheniſm, that was peculiarly calculated to arreſt the attention and impreſs the mind. The rudely majeſtick circle of ſtones in their temples, the enormous Crom- P. 396.
lech, the maſſy Logan, the huge Carnedde, and the magnificent amphitheater of woods, would all very ſtrongly lay hold upon that religious thoughtfulneſs of ſoul, which has been ever ſo natural to man amid all the wrecks of humanity, the monument of his former perfection.

In this ſtate of religion among the Britons of Lancaſhire, the Romans entered the county. And their own ſyſtem was fully as wild a combination of human vice and folly, more ſplendid, and leſs cruel; yet leſs retaining the illuſtrious doctrines of God's ſuperintendance, the æternity of the ſoul, and the tranſitorineſs of matter; and leſs adapted to touch the religious ſtring of the heart. But the Britons, on their imitating the manners of their conquerors, would naturally adopt their Theology; and as readily claſs the Roman with the Britiſh deities, as the Romans incorporated the Britiſh with their own [8]. This ſtrange conduct of exchanging divinities, ſo common to them and all the other heathens, was the natural reſult of a conſcious want of ſatisfaction in a right worſhip, and a miſ-directed deſire of ſupplying the place of the one by multiplying the objects of

Sect. III. the other. And yet it would become ſubſervient to the more ready introduction of both within the pale of the Chriſtian religion. Both muſt, in conſequence of it, have been leſs addicted to either. And the Britons half-romanized and the Romans half-britonized, in their idolatry, would neceſſarily loſe all that attachment to their national religion, which is merely the ſervant of prejudice, and yet the ſtrongeſt barrier generally againſt a converſion.

Under the government of the Druids, the learning of the iſland conſiſted in the knowledge of aſtronomy, geometry, and geography, metaphyſicks, botany, and mechanicks [9]. And the Britons ſeem to have acquired a competent degree of acquaintance with all. In mechanicks they were particularly learned, as the great temples of Abury and Stonehenge, and the various Cromlechs and Logans in the kingdom, concur to ſhew us. They contrived to raiſe the moſt enormous blocks of ſtone, a quarry almoſt in a ſingle pillar; and to balance them as it were upon air. And all this learning was confined entirely to the Druids [9]. But, on the arrival of the Romans among us, the literature of Italy was carefully cultivated and ſucceſsfully ſtudied by the Britons [10]. This would greatly affect the dignity of the Druids, and conſiderably wound the authority of their religion. And it muſt have particularly taken away all that reverence for the former, which ignorance will ever render to knowledge.

P. 397.

But the conſtruction of Roman cities, and the introduction of Italian manners, directly broke in upon, and by degrees deſtroyed, the whole wild ſuperſtructure of

Druidiſm

Druidiſm itſelf. And the religion of the Britons began early to yield to that of their conquerors. Even as high as the firſt century, thoſe of the north deſerted the leading principles of their national faith, in the form and poſition of their temples. The original fanes of the iſland were all raiſed in the depth of woods, all conſtructed with great rude obeliſks of ſtone, and open to the ſky above. Such we ſee on the plains of Wiltſhire and the edge of Rollright-heath, in Cornwall, and in Scotland. But, eſſential as ſuch a form and ſituation would naturally be ſuppoſed to religion in any country that had immemorially retained them, the Britons of Lancaſhire deſerted them before the reign of Trajan. They conſtructed their temples of hewn ſtones. They erected them in towns. And they covered them with roofs [11]. Sect. III.

Thus early did Druidiſm decline in the iſland, not rooted up, as has been univerſally ſuppoſed, by the violence of a proſcription, but undermined by the progreſs of Roman learning, and overborne by the irruption of Roman manners. And, in this ſtate of the national faith, Chriſtianity was brought into Britain. This had happily prepared the iſlanders for a more favourable attention to it. And it was a religion that drew aſide the curtain of heathen ignorance, and laid open to the view the genuine nature of God, the genuine nature of man, and the duties and rewards reſulting from both. It placed a true and real Divinity at the head P. 398. of the creation; a Nature, æternal in duration, unlimited in power, and unconfined by ſpace; an Intelligence, unerringly wiſe and unweariedly provident;

Sect. III. and a Will, infinitely juſt, unſpeakably kind, and inconceivably pure. And it repreſented man to have been once exactly fitted to his ſphere of action, all moral harmony within, and all natural order without, the central point of this lower creation, and a probationer for a happy æternity in a higher. It then reverſed the glaſs, and ſhewed him no longer moving in the orbit of duty, and receiving light and warmth from the Divinity, but voluntarily ſtooping to ſin, and neceſſarily ſubjected to wretchedneſs; his body diſeaſed, his underſtanding darkened, and the little empire of his paſſions and appetites all riſen in rebellion againſt his reaſon. It found his mind perplexed with doubts and his ſoul diſtracted with fears, conſcious of weakneſſes that required the aſſiſtance of ſome kind interceſſion, and ſenſible of guilt that needed the aid of ſome friendly atonement; but vainly caſting a wiſhful eye for one and the other through all the compaſs of created nature; ſinking therefore in melancholy under the weight of ſin, and ſhuddering with horrour at the world unknown. And it diſplayed this kind interceder, it pointed out this benevolent atoner, to the eye of deſpairing man; One fully qualified to mediate from the purity of his will, and One abſolutely enabled to atone from the dignity of his nature; a man interceding for the ruined manhood, and a God appeaſing the offended Godhead; a Friend deſcending from the throne of Heaven, and a Saviour conducting us to the happineſs of it. Such a ſyſtem of religion, ſanctioned as it was by precedent prophecies, and authenticated by accompanying miracles, muſt carry conviction of its divinity to the ſoul, melt even the

the obſtinacy of prejudice, and proſelyte even the pro- Sect. III.
fligacy of guilt.

This then, the genuine religion of our nature, which echoes the ſentiments of every feeling heart, and reflects the ideas of every thinking mind, was introduced into Britain as early as the period of the apoſtles, and ſome little time before the inſurrection of Boadicia in 61 [12]. P. 399.
And it was favourably received. It was embraced by many. And it was perſecuted by none [13]. The Britons and Romans liſtened to the voice of revelation, and were incorporated into the church of God. And, about the middle of the ſecond century, it reached the confines of Lancaſhire [14]. The genius of idolatry and the dæmon of impurity fled before it; and the citizens of Mancheſter commenced the diſciples of Chriſt. Thus was the only religion, that could adminiſter rational comfort to the ſoul of man, firſt brought into the pariſh of Mancheſter. There has it ever continued ſince, exalting the intellect and refining the paſſions, the parent of many a genuine ſaint. And may it ever continue there, the enlivening ray of our reaſon, and the purifying principle of our conduct, till creation ſhall ſink in the final flame, and probation be ſucceeded by the final allotment!

[1] M. Tyrius, Diſſert. xxxviii. p. 401. Cambridge.—[2] Gildas c. 2, Lucan. lib. iii. lin. 412, Borlaſe's Cornwall b. iii. c. 2, and Gale's Antoninus p. 16, 17, and 39.—[3] Gildas c. 2, Borlaſe c. 16. b. ii, Cæſar p. 121, and Tacitus Agric. V. c. 11.

Mr.

Sect. III. Mr. Macpherſon, in his wild efforts to vindicate his countrymen, in the Britons, from the charge of idolatry, has aſſerted them not to have worſhipped either the heavenly bodies, mountains, or rivers, the wind, or the ocean (Introduction p. 159—166). But that the Britons actually paid adoration to the ocean, to rivers, and to mountains, I have ſhewn deciſively before from Mr. Macpherſon's own facts, the recent practice of the Weſtern Iſlanders, and the expreſs atteſtation of Gildas (b. I. ch. x. ſ. 1). And we have as good proof of their adoring the others. It appears from Mr. Macpherſon himſelf, that his countrymen ſpeak to this day with as great reſpect of the ſpirit of the ſun and the ſtorm, as of the genius of the hill, the fountain, or the ſea (p. 163—164). And therefore it obviouſly follows, that they muſt have been equal worſhippers of all. Mr. Macpherſon alſo ſhews us in p. 162, and we had been ſhewn it before in Critical Diſſertations p. 314, that there is a large heath in Scotland betwixt Badenoch and Strathſpey, on which are many circles of ſtone, or Britiſh temples, and which is therefore denominated Slia-Grhannas or the plain of the ſun to this day. And, among the Roman-Britiſh remains in the ſouth of Scotland, we have an altar expreſsly inſcribed Apollini Granno or to the Britiſh God of the ſun (Horſeley p. 206). In the Confeſſion of St. Patrick, which he wrote as an epiſtle to the Iriſh heathens, he calls them off from their idolatry to the ſun, by declaring the everlaſting puniſhment denounced againſt all who adore it (Ware, Harris, p. 122). And we ſee the monarch of Ireland, at the ſame period, ſwearing to the

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the performance of a ſtipulation by two of the national divinities, the ſun and the wind (ibid.).

[4] Strabo p. 302, A. Marcellinus lib. xv. c. 9, Mela lib. iii. c. 2, Cæſar p. 120, and Agric. V. c. 11.— [5] Cæſar p. 120. — [6] Ibid. — [7] C. x. ſ. v. — [8] Horſeley, Apollo Grannus p. 206, Belatucadro Weſtm. N° 3 and Cumberland 31, Cocidi Cumb. 17, Setloceniæ Cumb. 69, and Matuno, Mogonti, Vitiri, Tanaro, and others— [9] Cæſar p. 120, Mela lib. iii. c. 21, Pliny P. 400. lib. xvi. c. 44, lib. xxv. c. 9, and lib. xxiv. c. 11, and Stukeley's Stonehenge. — [10] Agric. V. c. 21.— [11] Ibid. — [12] Euſebius Dem. Evang. l. iii. c. 7, Clemens Romanus Ep. 1. ſ. 5, and Gildas c. 5 and 6 (Interea).— [13] Gildas c. 7 and 8.— [14] Tertullian adv. Jud. tom. 1. p. 212, Lutetiæ, 1634. Writing about the year 200, he ſays that many even of the Caledonians were then Chriſtians, loca, Romanis inacceſſa, Chriſto ſubdita.

IV.

A RELIGION like the Chriſtian, that was once firmly footed in the iſland, was certain to gain ſpeedily upon the remaining heathens of it. And, though it combated the native tendencies of the animal paſſions, and proſelyted only by an appeal to the rational, it actually gained very ſpeedily upon them. Early in the third century, the Roman Britons were generally ſettled in the profeſſion of the Chriſtian faith [1]. Idolatry, indeed, was ſtill the national religion both of Britons and Romans. But Chriſtian temples were publickly

Sect. IV. publickly opened in the iſland, and the Chriſtian religion encountered ſcarcely any of that oppoſition within it, which it regularly met upon the continent. It ſuffered no perſecution till the concluſion nearly of the third century. And this was immediately ſucceeded by a conſiderable encouragement from the worthy Conſtantius, and by an open profeſſion from the great Conſtantine. Then was the ſtandard of Chriſtianity diſplayed victorious over Roman Britain. The ruined churches were repaired, and new ones conſtructed. The great rites in the œconomy of Chriſtian worſhip were univerſally celebrated with devotion. The principal tranſactions in the hiſtory of the Chriſtian redemption were formally commemorated with gratitude. And the church of Britain was eſtabliſhed in piety and peace, immediately after the commencement of the fourth century [2].

When the Chriſtians were firſt formed into a ſociety, they muſt neceſſarily have been ſubjected to a
P. 401. regimen. And they could not have been left by the Divinity to examine the various models of government, and to ſettle the beſt for themſelves. He, who molded the frame and therefore knew the ſprings of the human heart, would never have referred a point to the determination of man, which from the vanity of mere ſpeculation, and the neceſſary want of ſufficient experience, has always been ſo variouſly conſidered by him; which from the greatneſs of its object engages moſt ſtrongly the two ruling paſſions of the ſoul, pride and ſelfiſhneſs; and for both reaſons would have embroiled the church with the wildeſt diſſenſions,

and

and have torn up the infant eſtabliſhment from its baſe. Sect. IV.
The God of wiſdom could not thus have inſtituted his church in folly. And as a ſociety, as one modelled in wiſdom and founded on peace, the individuals of it would be retained in their proper ſpheres, by a concentrating principle of obedience in ſome and a regulating power of government in others. But the Chriſtian was not modelled merely like a common ſociety. It had this peculiarity in the frame and texture of its conſtitution, that it could not have begun to exiſt at all without a previous platform of government. It began at firſt by the baptiſmal adminiſtration of the apoſtles. And the apoſtolical power of introducing proſelytes into it neceſſarily included in its idea a power of government over them afterwards. The firſt Chriſtians were actually admitted into the pale by apoſtolical miniſtration. And they were actually ſubjected in it to apoſtolical government.

The mode of polity, that was delivered to the apoſtles for the preſent direction of the church, muſt have been the ſame which was eſtabliſhed over it in the days of the apoſtles. The mode, that was either then or afterwards appointed by Chriſt for the regimen of his church in all ages, muſt have been the ſame that has actually continued with it in all. And both were the P. 402.
monarchical or epiſcopal. This was the form of eccleſiaſtical government that was begun in the period of the apoſtles [3], and has remained ever ſince in all the Chriſtian nations of the world. No other made its appearance in the church till the year 1541. And no other obtains in it at this moment, except in a few ſocieties

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cieties of Weſt-Europeans, that, compared with the great body of Epiſcopal Chriſtians over all the world, appear very inſignificant and trifling. This was particularly eſtabliſhed in Britain. The beſt platform of polity in itſelf, it appears to have been early introduced into the iſland. And the Roman conqueſts among us were regularly partitioned into dioceſes, as early at leaſt as the year 314 [4].

The firſt biſhopricks of the church would naturally be commenſurate with the provinces of the ſtate. And the firſt ſees of the biſhops would be ſettled at the capitals of the provinces. In conſequence of the former, the biſhopricks aſſumed the general denominations of Provinces and Dioceſes. And, in conſequence of the latter, they adopted the diſtinguiſhing appellations of the provincial Capitals. The firſt dioceſes in Britain, therefore, would be the ſame as the provinces of the Romans, and muſt have been, like them, only four in number within the compaſs of the preſent England and Wales [5]. And three of theſe provincial biſhops appear as ſubſcribers to the Council of Arles in 314; Eborius Epiſcopus, de Civitate Eboracenſi, Provinciâ Britanniâ; Reſtitutus Epiſcopus, de Civitate Londinenſi, Provinciâ ſupra-ſcriptâ; and Adelphius Epiſcopus, de Civitate Coloniâ Londinenſium [6]. Theſe were all of them biſhops in Britain. And two of them were prelates of the provinces Maxima and Flavia. Eborius had his ſeat at York, the metropolis of the former. And Reſtitutus had his reſidence at London, a city probably ſuperiour in grandeur to all the other towns of the latter, and the capital of them and the province [7].

But

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But where ſhall we fix the ſeat of Adelphius, and where find his Colonia Londinenſium? The enquiry has long engaged the buſy efforts of conjectural criticiſm. And the difficulty is not yet removed. Camulodunum, Iſca Silurum, and Lindum have all three been ſuppoſed by different writers to be the particular reſidence of Adelphius [8]. The interiour condition of Roman Britain was very imperfectly known to theſe gentlemen; and a mere community of nature, or the ſmalleſt ſimilarity of name, was therefore thought a ſufficient ground for the notion. And about 60 years ago, the manuſcripts of Ravennas being found to exhibit the appellation of Colonia Lindum, and both theſe reaſons uniting together, the hint was eagerly caught by the antiquarians, and the ſee of Adelphius ever ſince has been authoritatively fixed at Lincoln [9]. But the Lindum Colonia of Ravennas and Richard is not the Colonia Londinenſium of the council. No authority of manuſcripts permits us with theſe criticks, to change Londinenſium into Lindinenſium. Nor do any proprieties of language allow us with them, to deduce either of theſe words from Lindum [10]. And, if both one and the other could be permitted, Lincoln could not be the ſee of a biſhoprick; being in the ſame province, and conſequently in the ſame dioceſs, with London.

P. 403.

The genuine name is Civitas Colonia Londinenſium. And we have no right to ſuppoſe a corruption, merely becauſe we meet with a difficulty. The ſite of the colony muſt be ſought in a region of Britain remote from Lincolnſhire, and in a province or dioceſs diſtinct from Flavia. And a few obſervations will lead us to it.

Sect. IV. The ſecond Auguſtan legion, which was fixed at Caerleon in Monmouthſhire, was equally ſettled at London. And the head-quarters of the corps, once eſtabliſhed at the former, were afterwards transferred to the latter. Hence, in the laſt century, a ſepulchral inſcription was diſcovered upon Ludgate-hill, addreſſed to the memory of one of theſe legionaries [11]. And Auguſta, the name of Caerleon at firſt, became early in the fourth century the appellation of London [12]. At this city the head-quarters of the legion continued for ſome time [12]. And while the two or three principal cohorts, that compoſed the colony, continued reſident at it, they might eaſily acquire the appellation of Londinenſes. The legionaries
P. 404. might as naturally receive this title, as London obtain that of Legio Auguſta. And the Roman troops pretty frequently derived their names from their quarters; ſix or ſeven legions of Roman citizens (as I have previouſly ſhewn [13]) being denominated from the places of their reſidence; and a body of Nervii ſtationed at Dictis being called Dictenſes, a detachment lodged at Longovicus being named Longovicarii, and the garriſons of Petriana and Derventio aſſuming the titles of Ala Petriana and Derventionenſes [14]. Thus diſtinguiſhed, the principal cohorts were afterwards removed from London to Rhutupæ [15]. And the new colony might properly obtain, and would naturally receive, the denomination of Colonia Londinenſium. Rhutupæ was the only one in the kingdom, that could have received this appellation. It was equally a colony of the ſecond legion and the metropolis of the

province. And it appears, in the earlieſt period of the Saxons, to have been actually diſtinguiſhed among them by this very denomination; being called London Port and Lunden-wic [16]. Sect. IV.

Three biſhops, then, were appointed as early as the year 314 over the three provinces of Britannia Prima, Flavia, and our own Maxima. And three fixed their reſidence as early at the three capitals of the provinces, Rhutupæ, Londinium, and our own Eboracum. The prelate of Britannia Secunda, whoſe ſee was at Caerleon the Roman metropolis of Wales, was either abſent from the council or ſubſcribed not to the decrees [17]. And Lancaſhire and the pariſh of Mancheſter were now ſubjected equally to the eccleſiaſtical and civil ſupremacy of York.

Thus was Epiſcopacy eſtabliſhed at firſt coæval with Chriſtianity in Britain. And Chriſtianity and Epiſcopacy have continued inſeparably united among us to the preſent moment.

[1] Origen on Ezek. tom. iv, Britannia conſenſit, and P. 405. Gildas c. 7 and 8.—[2] Gildas c. 7 and 8.—[3] Ignatius's Epiſt. ad Smyrnæos ſ. 8. and ad Polycarpum ſ. 6 &c. (Ruſſell). — [4] Sirmondus's Concilia Gallica, Lutetiæ 1629, tom. I. p. 9. — [5] Richard p. 15. — [6] Sirmondus tom. I. p. 9.—[7] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 33.—[8] Uſher, Selden, Spelman, Stillingfleet, &c. — [9] Gale's Antoninus, Baxter, Carte, &c. — [10] Bede calls the region Lindiſſis and the town Lindo-colina, lib. ii. c. 16. — [11] Wren's Parentalia p. 265. — [12] Marcellinus, lib.

Sect. IV. xxvii. c. 8, Lundinium vetus oppidum quod Auguſtam poſteritas appellavit. — [13] Ch. vi. ſ. 4. — [14] Notitia. — [15] Ibid. — [16] Somner's R. Forts in Kent, p. 9. &c. — [17] Richard p. 22, and Carte p. 213. a Note. And the biſhop of Valentia was equally abſent, whoſe ſeat was at Leucophibia or Whitern in Galloway; a ſee being eſtabliſhed there in the times of the Britons, and Nynias a Briton being biſhop of it multo tempore before 565, Bede lib. iii. c. 4.—But how vainly does Mr. Camden talk of a biſhop of Glouceſter in theſe days, p. 255; relying in this, as in his account of the Wallbrook and Flamen of London, p. 304—305, on Geoffrey or as redoubtable an authority.

The ſtory of king Lucius alſo, which has been ſo greatly canvaſſed by our hiſtorical criticks, is in all probability ſpurious. And the two coins impreſſed with a croſs and the letters L V C, firſt mentioned by archbiſhop Uſher, and more or leſs depended upon by all, are certainly ſo. Even Uſher's manner of mentioning them renders the fact very precarious. He had ſeen two coins, he ſays, which were marked with the ſign of the croſs and literis *obſcurioribus* quæ L V C denotare *videbantur* (p. 22, 1687). And no Britiſh king, as I have already ſhewn from Gildas, was allowed to mint money after the Roman conqueſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

THE STATE OF THE ROMAN LEGIONS IN BRITAIN BEFORE THE DEPARTURE OF THE ROMANS—THE GREAT REASONS OF THEIR DEPARTURE EXPLAINED—AND THE EXTENT OF THEIR EMPIRE, AND DISPOSITION OF THEIR FORCES, IN THE ISLAND AT IT.

I.

IN the two military municipies and the ſeven military colonies, which were planted by the Romans in the iſland, the lands aſſigned to the legionaries would regularly deſcend to their heirs. The very nature of ſuch aſſignments neceſſarily requires that they ſhould. And the continuance of the ſame legions in the ſame municipies and colonies for three or four centuries together, which was the caſe particularly with the ſixth, plainly proves that they did. Thus inherited, the lands were virtually military feuds in themſelves, and virtually enjoyed by military tenures from the emperor. And the male deſcendants of the original legionaries would be all equally legionaries by birth, at the military age would all engage by turns in the duties of the garriſon at home, and all by turns be draughted out for the occaſional ſervices of the iſland abroad. P. 406.

Sect. I. In the revolution of three or four centuries, the males of the municipies and colonies muſt have been conſiderably multiplied, and the number of legionaries in each of them very greatly augmented. And the original three or four thouſand perhaps of each garriſon, merely by the effect of a ſucceſſive propagation, and only by a ſingle duplication of the whole in each generation, would regularly have dilated themſelves into a very conſiderable number. Each of the nine cities muſt have decupled, at leaſt, the full amount of its
P. 407. original inhabitants, in that long period of time; and the native Romans of the iſland have been nearly half a million of men, at the concluſion of it. And hiſtory remarkably coincides with the reaſoning; actually mentioning the Roman inhabitants of the country as a diſtinct nation of themſelves, and conſidering them equally with the populous communities of the Britons, the Angles, the Picts, and the Scots within it [1].

In this gradual multiplication of the Roman legionaries, and in that increaſe of the Roman power which muſt have been the natural reſult of it, the neceſſity of maintaining ſo many troops in the iſland would be taken away. And, about the cloſe of the third or commencement of the fourth century, ſeveral of the legions would be nearly ſuperfluous in Britain. Hence we find the twentieth Valerian Victorious, the tenth Antonian Auguſtan, and the ſeventh Twin Claudian, to have been recalled from the iſland before the fifth [2]. And we ſee the firſt of them, in particular, to have not been recalled till the middle nearly of the fourth, till ſome time after the date of Antonine's Itinerary and

the

the erection of Conſtantinople [3]. Having very large bodies of native legionaries in her municipies and colonies, the iſland was ſufficiently able to diſmiſs three of her five legions, and ſufficiently defended againſt her enemies by the remaining two. Sect. I.

The full legionary complement of men muſt have been draughted out of the military citizens, that reſpectively belonged to each of the three legions; have marched away under the legionary ſtandard; and embarked with their wives and children for the continent. The reſt remained behind. And theſe, together with the citizens that were afterwards left by the two other legions upon the final departure of all, would neceſſarily form a very conſiderable figure in the iſland; the amount of their diſperſed numbers entitling them to the collective appellation of a people, and the Romans being enumerated as one of the five nations that divided the iſland betwixt them. Thus Bede declares P. 408. the Divinity to have been worſhiped among us in the languages of five different people, the Angles, the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the Latins [4]. And the Saxon Chronicle mentions five ȝeðeoðe or nations to have inhabited Britain, the Angles, the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the Boc-ledene [5]. And, what deciſively proves the Boc-ledene and Latini of theſe hiſtories to be only the original Romans, they both, immediately after the mention of theſe ſeveral nations, endeavour to aſcertain the periods of their primary introduction into Britain; and referring the advent of the Britons, Picts, and Scots to ſome dark and ſucceſſive æras, they fix the coming of the Angles in the

Sect. I. time of Hengiſt, and ſettle the arrival of the Latins in the days of Cæſar [6].

In this interiour condition of the iſland, Mancheſter and the county enjoyed in peace all the advantages of the Roman reſidence among them; employed in the proſecution of commerce, engaged in the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, and bleſt equally in the feeling of preſent and the proſpect of future happineſs. But alas! the period was now haſtily approaching, when the general happineſs of the iſland was to ceaſe. War was ready to enter the five provinces of Roman Britain, to deform the ſcenes of Roman cultivation and Britiſh refinement, to ravage her vallies, and deface her cities. And miſery was now to be let looſe upon the provincials, to diſtinguiſh by the teſt of ſufferings the mere votary of the eſtabliſhment from the cordial embracer of the religion; to give the genuine Chriſtian the honour of retaining his faith, under a weight of diſcouragements and the eſtabliſhment of idolatry; and to call out all thoſe ſtronger graces of the ſoul, which ſhoot active through the breaſt in the trying period of calamity, and exalt the ſentiment, invigorate the mind, and dignify the man.

The Caledonians, Saxons, and Scots were all preparing to deſcend upon Roman Britain, united by the bond of intereſt, and impelled by the hope of conqueſt. This was the commencement of an æra of ſorrows to
P. 409. her. And it is requiſite to explain it at large, to remove the cloud which ignorance has raiſed before the hiſtory, to clear away the whimſies which folly has incorporated with the facts, and give a brief authentick detail

detail of the whole. In theſe momentous incidents the inhabitants of Mancheſter were very deeply intereſted. They deprived them of their protectors in the adjoining ſtation of the Caſtle-field. They broke for ever the chain of connection, that had ſo long and ſo happily ſubſiſted between Mancheſter and Rome. And they brought the ravages of war into our borders, introduced the natives of North-Germany into our pariſh, and even planted a colony of barbarians from the Elbe in our ſtreets. Sect. I.

[1] Bede's Hiſt. c. i. l. 1, and Sax. Chron. p. 1.— [2] Notitia. — [3] Antonini Itinerarium p. 9. Bertius, & Iter Brit. 1, 2, and 12. — [4] Bede's Hiſt. l. i. c. 1.— [5] Sax. Chron. p. 1. — [6] Bede l. i. c. 1—15, and Sax. Chron. p. 1—11.

II.

THE Britiſh nations beyond the rampart of Antoninus were ſixteen in number. Of theſe, ſome were entirely reduced by the Romans. And others remained independent of them.

[1] The former conſiſted of ſix tribes, and had about twenty ſtations among them [2].—The Horeſtii lived immediately beyond the wall, in Sterling and Fife, the ſouth-eaſtern parts of Strathern and Menteith, and that ſmall portion of Perth which is to the ſouth of the Tay; being bounded by this river on the north, and having the

Sect. II. the towns of Alauna, Lindum, and Victoria in their dominions. But, before the coming of the Romans, they had been attacked and ſubdued by the Damnii;
P. 410. and their towns are therefore aſcribed to the latter by Ptolemy. And, after that coming and the erection of the forts or the wall, they were entirely ſeparated from the Damnii, became a part of the new province Veſpaſiana, and were ſubjected to the new capital Victoria. The Vecturones reſided in the reſt of Perth, in all Gawry, Angus, and Merns, and the narrow region of Mar which is to the ſouth of the Dee; having the towns or ſtations Orrea, Ad Hiernam, Ad Tavum, Ad Eſicam, and Ad Tinam [3]; and acknowledging the firſt of them for their capital. The Taixali lived beyond the Dee, in the reſt of Mar and in Buchan, owning Devana or Old Aberdeen in the former for their metropolis, and giving their own name to Buchan Neſs or Kinnaird's Head upon their ſhore. And adjoining to theſe on the weſt, along the retreating line of the coaſt, and ſeparated from them by an arm of the Grampian hills about the north-weſtern limits of Buchan, the Vacomagi poſſeſſed the regions of Bamff, Murray, and Inverneſs to the town of Inverneſs, nearly the whole of Badenoch and Argyle, and the ſmall part of Braidalbin that lies to the north of the Tay; having the towns of Tueſſis, Rothes upon the Spey in Murray, Banatia or Bane-caſtle, Varis, Far upon Nairne river, and Ptorotone or Inverneſs, in the diſtrict of Inverneſs, Ad Tueſſim, or Ruthven upon the Spey in Badenoch, and Tamea, or Brumcheſter in Athol [4]. To the ſouth of the Vacomagi were the Damnii Albani, a tribe totally omitted

omitted by Ptolemy, and therefore ſubjected certainly to another. They were actually ſubjected to their neighbours the Damnii; received the former half of their appellation from their conquerors, and the latter from the Alben or heights among which they were ſituated; and were therefore conſidered as conſiſting of two gentes or tribes, which inhabited the ſmall part of Athol and Braidalbin that is to the ſouth of the Tay, and the remainder of Strathern and Menteith [5]. And, to the ſouth of theſe, reſided the Attacotti in Lenox [6], equally omitted by Ptolemy, and equally ſubjected by him to the Damnii [6]; extending only along the ſide of the Cluyd and a part of the Roman wall, and having Al-cluith or Balclutha [7], the fortreſs upon the Cluyd, Dun-Briton or Dun-Barton, the town of the Britons, for their capital.—Such were the reduced tribes of the north, formed into the province of Veſpaſiana, and owning Ptorotone for their provincial capital [8]. Sect. II. P. 411.

[9] The unconquered Britons conſiſted of ten nations, and inhabited the large remainder of Scotland.—To the ſouth [10] of Murray frith were placed the Proper Caledonians; poſſeſſing the interiour regions of Inverneſs, the weſtern of Badenoch and Braidalbin, the eaſtern of Lochaber, and the north-eaſtern of Lorn; reaching in a long line acroſs the iſland from the frith, in the north-eaſt, to the head of the Sinus Lelamnonius or Loch Fyn, in the ſouth-weſt [11]; and having all the weſtern parts of their country covered over with the Caledonian foreſt [12]. But along the eaſtern coaſt of the iſland, and to the north of theſe and the frith [13], the Cantæ enjoyed all the eaſtern parts of Roſs: having the Loxa, or frith

of

Sect. II. of Cromarty, paſſing through the center of their poſſeſſions; the promontory Penoxullum, Uxel Pen, or high head, the Lofty Bank of Ptolemy, and the preſent Tarbeath Neſs, on one ſide of them; and the Abona, or frith of Dornock, to the north of them. Beyond this were the Logi or Maritime People, inhabiting the ſea-coaſt of Sutherland, and reaching to the Ila or Ale in Cathneſs. And the Carnabii inhabited the reſt of Cathneſs; being the moſt north-eaſterly of all the Britons, and having the two promontories of Viruedrum and Berubium [14], the Dungsby and Neſs Heads, to the eaſt and north-eaſt of them. To the weſt of theſe were the Catini, ſpreading along the whole ſea-ſhore of Strathnavern to the weſt; as to the ſouth of the Catini, in the interiour diſtricts of Strathnavern and Sutherland, and adjoining on the eaſt to the Logi [15], were the Mertæ. And the Catini had been ſubdued by the Carnabii, who thereby extended their dominions along all the northern ſhore of the iſland, from the Ila on the ſouth-eaſt to the promontory Tarvidum, Orcas, or Faro Head on the north-weſt [16], and to the Nabæus, or Loch Aſſynt, beyond it to the ſouth-weſt. To the ſouth of the Nabæus, the Carnonacæ extended along the ſhore of Roſs; having the Promontorium Ebudum, or headland of Row Stoir Aſſynt, on one ſide of their country,
P. 412. and the Volſas Sinus or Loch Breyn to the ſouth of it. Bounded by this on the north and the Itys on the ſouth, a river placed by Ptolemy two degrees to the ſouth of the former, and probably the Sheyl in Inverneſshire, were the Cerones; as the Creones were limited by the Itys on the north and the Longus or Loch Long on the ſouth,

ſouth, a current placed by the ſame writer three or four degrees to the ſouth of the Itys [17]: theſe two nations poſſeſſing all the remainder of Roſs, Inverneſs, Lochaber, and Lorn, and the whole of Argyle [18]. And the Epidii inhabited the little reſidue of Scotland, the narrow cherſoneſus that is formed by the ocean on the weſt and Loch Fyn on the eaſt, which contains Cantire and Knapdale, and terminates in the Epidium Promontorium or Mull of Cantire [19].

All theſe, in the days of Agricola, were united together under one monarch [20]. And he was a ſort of dictator; one king exalted into a pre-eminence over the reſt upon the alarming invaſion of the country by Agricola, and, like thoſe that had been previouſly created in the ſouth, inveſted with a military authority over them. This office was inſtituted at firſt among the ſouthern Britons, upon the firſt invaſion or ſubſequent encroachments of their firſt common enemies, the Belgæ; and was therefore inſtituted probably, after Divitiacus had obtained the command of all Belgick Britain [21]. And the Belgæ under him appear to have gained conſiderable advantages over the diſunited Britons [22]. The Cantii, who had previouſly ſeized the ſouth of Middleſex and the fortreſs of London [23]; and who, as Novantes or new-comers in Middleſex, had their fortreſs diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Tre-Novantum or the town of the Novantes [24], and afterwards received or aſſumed the title of Trinobantes; at that period in all probability, enlarged their dominions, as I have formerly ſhewn their poſſeſſions to have been extended, over all Middleſex and all Eſſex. The Regni, who

were

Sect. II. were previouſly confined, I ſuppoſe, to the county of Suſſex, now pretty certainly obtained their dominions
P. 413. in Surry. And it was at this period moſt probably, that the Damnonii ſubdued the Carnabii of Weſt-Cornwall, and the Cimbri of North-Cornwall and South-Somerſetſhire; and that the Proper Belgæ conquered the Segontiaci in the contiguous parts of Hampſhire and Berkſhire, and reduced the Hædui in the north of Somerſetſhire, the north-weſt of Wiltſhire, and the ſouth-weſt of Glouceſterſhire. Such ſucceſſes would greatly alarm the native Britons, and ſtrongly influence them to copy the beneficial practice of their enemies, and unite, like them, under a common governor. And, accordingly, we ſoon find all the ſoutherly tribes combined together, and jointly proſecuting the war againſt the Belgæ [25]. Their head was the famous Caſſi-vellaunus or Caſſi-bellinus [26], the Belin or king of the Caſſii [27]. He was created the Pend-ragon, or commandant of the kings. The whole military authority over the combined tribes was committed to him. And, under his conduct, the war was carried on with vigour [28]. The Caſſii recovered all the country which had been ſeized by the Trinobantes, and which had pretty certainly been taken away from themſelves; the whole tribe of the latter being reduced into ſubjection [29]. And the Bibroces recovered from the Regni what as probably had been their own before, the county of Surry; even purſued them into Suſſex, and abſolutely ſubdued their kingdom [30]. Theſe victories would ſtrongly recommend the new model of government to the Britons. And, at the ſecond and more formal deſcent of Cæſar upon the iſland, both the

the Britons and Belgæ very prudently united together; and the pendragon of the latter became for a ſhort time the dictator of the former [31]. Sect. II.

Nor was this dignity merely temporary, created for the emergency and expiring with it. It continued for life in the poſſeſſor, and ſeems even to have deſcended at his death to his male heir. And Cunobeline and Caractacus, the two ſucceſſors of Caſſivelaun in the monarchy of the Caſſii, ſeem alſo to have been his heirs in the pendragonſhip of the iſland. This the firſt introduction of a mint from the Roman continent by Cunobeline, though, as king of the Caſſii, he lay at a diſtance from the ſouthern coaſts [32]; the intimate acquaintance of the Romans with his name and capital, though with relation to them he was only an inland monarch [33]; and the appellation of Cunobeline, Cuno Belin ſignifying the Head King; all concur to render highly probable with reſpect to the former. And Caractacus, the Caratacus of one of his own coins, was undoubtedly the pendragon of the Britons: as is equally implied in the name Cara-tac, Cara-tog, or Head King [34]; is expreſsly aſſerted by Tacitus and himſelf; and demonſtrated by the whole tenour of his hiſtory [35]. Thus alſo, as I ſhall afterwards ſhew, the ſame office was lineally hereditary among the Britons of Caledonia and the Britons and Belgæ of Ireland [36]. P. 414.

Among the Caledonians, the dignity was created upon the advance of the firſt common enemy which had hitherto attacked them, the Romans under Agricola. Then, wiſely providing againſt the danger by an union, all the unconquered tribes of the iſland ſolemnly

Sect. II. lemnly confederated together, and put themſelves under the authority of Galgacus [37]. This was the monarch of one of them, ſuperiour to the reſt in deſcent and valour [38], and perhaps, as pendragon, denominated Gal-gac, Gal-cog, or the king of the Britons. And in his family the office moſt probably remained till the middle of the ſecond century. Then the royal houſe of the Creones was nominated to it. And Trenmor, Trathal, Comhal, and Fingal ſucceeded each other as regularly in the publick command, as in the private monarchy. [39]

All theſe tribes were firſt called by the general appellation of Caledonians or Caledonian Britons [40]. And the name was not derived, as the learned Mr. Macpherſon imagines [41], from the words Cael and Don, ſignifying the Gauls of the Hills. It was the denomination of the inhabitants, equally in the Lowlands of the eaſtern coaſt and on the mountains of the northern and weſtern Highlands [42]. Originally peculiar to the tribe that ranged in a line acroſs the iſland, and inhabited the
P. 415. hills in common with the Cerones, the Creones, the Carnonacæ, and others; it was derived from the great foreſt that ſwept acroſs all the weſtern parts of their country. And the foreſts of Britain in general, and the three greateſt of them in particular, were diſtinguiſhed among the natives by the ſimple denomination of Caledon or woods [43]. Reſiding almoſt entirely within the precincts of an extenſive wood, the nation was originally denominated the Caledon-ii or Woodlanders, and communicated its name to all the tribes that lay north of the friths. But this appears not to have been done, as

we have previouſly ſeen the name of one nation imparted to another in South-Britain, by the reduction of the people in war. It was occaſioned, as is moſt probable, and as we ſhall hereafter find the caſe equally in Ireland, merely by the ſuperiority of the Caledonians to the reſt of the tribes in extent of dominion and greatneſs of power. And the reſt were as certainly inferiour to the Caledonians in political dignity, as they were partakers with them in their national appellation [44]. Sect. II.

Theſe about the cloſe of the ſecond century, when all the regions of Sterling and the eaſtern coaſt were now no longer diſſevered from Caledonia, were very naturally diſtinguiſhed by the two general appellations of Caledonians and Mæatæ [45]. The latter inhabited the level country that lay neareſt to the wall of Antoninus [46], poſſeſſed equally without doubt the lowlands of the eaſtern coaſt [47], and were therefore denominated the Fir-Mæ-at or the Men of the Plains [48]. And the former reſided in the mountains behind and on one ſide of them [46]. Among theſe, the tribes that lay along the weſtern ſhore were called from their ſituation Deucaledones, the Water or Maritime Caledonians; and gave to the neighbouring ſea the name of the Deucaledonian Ocean [49]. And both the former and the latter were afterwards known by the one comprehenſive appellation of Picts, which commenced about the concluſion of the third century [50], and finally ſuperſeded the reſt.

This has been invariably ſuppoſed by the criticks to be derived from the Roman language [51], and was

Sect. II. P. 416. equally ſuppoſed by the more ignorant even among the Romans [52]. But the word appears to be as little Italian in its origin, as the ſame appellation of Pictones in Gaul, Pict in the ſingular forming Pict-i or Pict-on-es in the plural; which is equally ſeen in the names of Allo-Brig-es or Brig-ant-es, Friſ-ii or Friſ-on-es, Cang-i or Cang-an-i, Cen-i or Cen-om-es, and a thouſand others. And the name was not known only to the Romans and Roman Britons. It was uſed equally by the natives themſelves. Nor was it confined to the Caledonians. It was the appellation equally of them and the Iriſh. The name is therefore Celtick, and was pronounced by the Britons of Scotland and Ireland Fict or Vict; the Caledonians calling themſelves the Fict-ied, and the Hibernians denominating themſelves the Gathel Fict-ied. And it is derived from the Britiſh Guith or Guict, the divorced or ſeparated. Hence aroſe the appellation of Vectis or the divided region, for the iſle of Wight [53]. And, as the labials M, B, P, V, and F are conſtantly ſubſtituted one for another in the Britiſh language [54], Guict would be variouſly formed into Mict, Bict, Pict, Vict, and Fict. Thus we have Vent in the Venta Icenorum of Norfolk; Gwent in Caer Gwent, the antient Venta Silurum; Wint in Wintcheſter, the Venta Belgarum; Bint in the Bindogladia of Ravennas, the Venta-Geladia of Richard, and in Vindovium or Bintcheſter; all four exactly the ſame word with Pend or Pent a head. Thus alſo we have Aval an apple; Papyrus, Papir, or Pabaur; Populus, Poball, or people; Durobrovis or Duroprovis; Menapia, St. David's, or Menevia; Brydhain, Frydhain, or Prydhain

for

for Britain; and an infinite variety of others [55]. And names like theſe, ſignifying a ſeparated people, were very common among the Celtæ in general. They appear (as I have already ſhewed [56]) even in the name of the iſland, Britain, and in the original and general appellation of the iſles around it, which were equally denominated Britains; and are alſo found in Vectis and Mictis, the particular names of one or two of them, in the Vect-uriones of Scotland, the Pictones of France, and the Vettones of Spain [57]. And the name of Fict or Pict in our own country, being common to the Caledonians and the Iriſh, muſt have been derived from ſome ſeparation that was equally common to them both; and therefore denoted that moſt ſtriking circumſtance in the general condition of both, their disjunction from the tribes of the Roman Britons, and their poſition without the pale of the Roman-Britiſh empire [58]. Sect. II. P. 417.

It is one of the moſt ſingular events in the Roman annals, and reflects a peculiar honour upon the bravery of the Britons, that, in the long courſe of more than three centuries, the Romans could never make an entire conqueſt of the iſland. And this was the only country in the world, I think, in which the Romans reduced the greateſt part of the natives, and yet were for ever beat off by the ſmall remainder of them. The conqueſt was attempted by ſome of the greateſt generals that were produced in the armies of Rome, was proſecuted with the greateſt vigour and conduct, and yet was never accompliſhed. All the efforts of the Romans, however ſucceſsful at firſt, were finally baffled by the Britons. And they ſtill lived independent in

Sect. II. their mountains, and looked down with pity upon the reſt of their brethren, ſtooping to the power and adopting the manners of Italy. When the gallant Silures had ſubmitted to the Romans, and the equal highlands of Wales had ſuffered ſtations to be planted among them; when even the hills of Athol and the mountains of Badenoch had been ſcaled by their armies and traverſed by their roads; ſtill, with a reſolute obſtinacy of ſoul, the Caledonians maintained their liberty, at laſt drove the enemy back to the friths, and even purſued them into the provinces.

When Agricola invaded the country, though he came recent from the conqueſt of Half-Britain, they oppoſed his advance and encountered his forces. And though he came attended by a gallant fleet, and at the head of a powerful army; though he gained more than one victory over them, and ſpent no leſs than three years in his expedition; they bravely perſiſted in their own defence, and defeated all his attempts to reduce them [59]. They were not a number of independent tribes, uncon-
P. 418. nected by union and uninformed with vigour. They were embodied together under one government, and their operations were actuated with one ſpirit. But, when Lollius entered the country, they ſeem to have been diſtracted with diſſenſions. The dictatorſhip was then vacant. And the kings contended for the honour [60]. In theſe circumſtances, defeat naturally ſucceeded to defeat; the Romans gained greatly upon the country of Caledonia; and the ſix whole tribes of the Vecturiones, Taixali, Vacomagi, Damnii Albani, Horeſtii, and Attacotti were fully reduced by Lollius [61].

The

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The fever of private ambition, however, was extinguiſhed by the fear of publick deſtruction. The monarch of the Creones, diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by the only ſucceſs in the war, was nominated to the pendragonſhip [62]. And it was this event, in all probability, which preſerved the remainder of Caledonia from the Romans. They had now victoriouſly carried their arms to the great chain of mountains, that commences near the town of Dunbarton, ranges acroſs the weſtern ſide of Athol and Badenoch, and extends beyond the frith of Murray. And this, as the natural and long-continued barrier of the unconquered tribes of Caledonia, does for twenty miles together, in the regions of Badenoch and Athol, retain the ſignificant appella- P. 419.
tion of Drum Uachtur, the ridge of the Vecturiones, or the mountains of the Picts, to the preſent period [63]. Having, therefore, conquered all the eaſtern and north-eaſtern ſhore, and ſucceſsfully reduced the mountaineers of Athol and Badenoch; Lollius would not have diſcontinued his conqueſts, if he had found it practicable to extend them. He had made a progreſs, which none of the Romans had made before him; and would eagerly wiſh to crown his ſucceſſes, and compleat his glory, by the abſolute and entire ſubjection of the ſtubborn iſlanders. And the Caledonians afterwards burſt from their mountain-barrier, and attacked the Romans in their new conqueſts, with ſo much vigour and perſeverance; that, in leſs than thirty years after the expedition of Lollius, the latter were entirely beaten out of them all, and forced to ſhelter themſelves behind the wall of Antoninus [64].

Sect. II. The next and laſt conſiderable attempt to reduce the Caledonians, was made by the Roman emperor in perſon, by Severus, and the collected power of the empire under him. And they were then ſubject to Fingal, the Vind-Gall or Head of the Britons, the ſon of Comhal, the grandſon of Trathal, and the great grandſon of Trenmor; a dictator fit to be the antagoniſt of Severus, and a chief worthy to be the hero of Oſſian [65]. The emperor paſſed the two walls [66], and entered the country. The Caledonians hung unſeen upon his army during its march, attacked him vigorouſly at every advantageous turn, and frequently drew his parties into artful ambuſcades [67]. And, thus continually harraſſed by a bold and watchful enemy, the Romans were reduced to conſiderable diſtreſs. They were obliged to put all their ſick and wounded to the ſword, that they might not fall alive into the hands of the enemy. And they loſt no leſs than fifty thouſand men in the expedition [68]. Obliged at laſt to cede a conſiderable tract of ground to the Romans for peace, the country undoubtedly that had been previouſly ſubdued by Lollius [69]; all the P. 420. Mæatæ immediately revolted, were immediately joined by the Caledonians, and the Roman power was once more confined to the five provinces [70]. The Romans re-entered the country, conducted by Caracalla, and commiſſioned to exterminate the natives [71]. Fingal met him in the county of Sterling, and on the banks of the Carron [72]. The Romans entered into treaty with the Caledonians. They agreed to reſign up the conteſted dominions. And they retired to the ſouth of the wall [73].

Thus

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Thus unſucceſsful were all the attempts of Rome to ſubdue the Britons of the north! And thus did they riſe more vigorous from every repeated attack! But they had no ſooner diſlodged the Romans from their ſettlements on the north of the rampart in the year 170, than they attacked them behind it, paſſed it, cut the Romans in pieces, and ravaged the province of Valentia [74]. Finally repelled, they ever perſiſted in their efforts; ſtill ready to break into the province, and eager to retaliate upon the Romans and their Britons all the woes which they had brought on Caledonia [75]. And, the moment the Roman forces relinquiſhed the iſland, they even broke through both the walls, they even invaded both the provinces, and inſtantly began the complicated calamities of Roman Britain.

[1] Richard p. 30.—[2] Iter 9 and 10 of Richard, and Ptolemy.—[3] Iter 9 of Richard.—[4] Iter 10 of Richard.—[5] Infra Tavum (Richard).—Theſe Damnii Albani (as Richard ſays) were intra lacuum montiumque clauſtra planè reconditæ—[6] Unde [a civitate Alcluith] linea ad oſtium fluminis Vararis ducta terminos oſtendit [Veſpaſianæ], Richard p. 15. And Ptolemy carries the Damnii from the Selgovæ on the ſouth-weſt to Victoria (or the Tay) on the north-eaſt, and from the Gadeni to the Epidii; giving them all the intermediate regions, that belonged to the Horeſtii, Attacotti, and Damnii Albani.—[7] Richard p. 31, Bede l. i. c. 1, and Oſſian vol. I. p. 130.—[8] Richard's map of this province is very inaccurate. The Vecturones, or Venricones (as he there

Sect. II. ſtrangely denominates them), are carried to the ſouth of the Tay and into the country of the Horeſtii, and in ſuch a manner as if they had the latter in ſubjection at
P. 421, the Roman invaſion. But the Horeſtii were then ſubject to the Damnii. And, as theſe are placed immediately to the ſouth of the Tay, in the little portion of Braidalbin and in Strathern, the Albanii are tranſlated to the weſt of Loch Fyn and into Argyleſhire. And Veſpaſiana and the Attacotti are carried quite up to Loch Fyn.—Dr. Stukeley has in ſome meaſure corrected the two firſt miſtakes, retained the third, and fallen into others. The *Veſpaſiana quæ et Thule* of Richard's map he has ſtrangely miſtaken, annexing the *Quæ et* to Taixali, and with both forming *Taixali Aquæ*. And the Vacomagi he has brought to the ſouth of the Tay.—
[9] Richard p. 32. — [10] Richard ſays, ad *Occidentem* Vararis; here, and here only, copying the grand miſtake of the Romans as to the poſition of Scotland, which has put their eaſt for the real north, and their weſt for the real ſouth, their north for the real weſt, and their ſouth for the real eaſt. And, inſtead of a courſe right northerly and ſoutherly, the Romans have given Scotland a direction full eaſtern and weſtern. This is the caſe with Ptolemy in particular. And thus Strabo p. 307 places Ierne or Ireland to the north of Britain; and the Scotch writers have idly caught at the poſition, in order to make Ierne ſtand for the north of Scotland (ſee Mr. Macpherſon vol. I. Oſſian p. 5, &c.). See this, ſince the firſt edition of this work, more fully diſcuſſed in The Genuine Hiſt. of the Britons aſſerted, p. 225—269. — But ſince the firſt edition I have alſo

obſerved, that Richard in p. 32 places all the Caledonians ultra Vararem, making this river by miſtake to flow to the weſt as well as north of the Roman conqueſts. And this, I think, reconciles him with himſelf better than the ſuppoſition before. But let the reader judge. Either way there is a miſtake in him.—[11] Ptolemy and Richard p. 15.—[12] Ptolemy places the Caledonian wood υπερ, above, or to the north, that is, to the weſt, of the Caledonians; and Richard in a part of their country. It was therefore in the weſtern part. And Ptolemy places the Vacomagi υπερ or above, to the weſt of, the Caledonians. But this υπερ ſhould be υπο, below, or to the eaſt of, the Caledonians. And Horſeley and Bertius, who both read the former, both tranſlate it as if it was the latter.—[13] Ptolemy.—[14] Ibid. Richard has confounded theſe two promontories, and made them one and the ſame.—[15] Ptolemy.—[16] Ibid.—[17] Ibid.—[18] The lands of Etha, the country upon Loch Etyff or Etha in Lorn, were in the dominions of the Creones and the kingdom of Morven (Oſſian vol. I. p. 168 and 170). And Richard accordingly ſays p. 15, Unde [a civitate Alcluith] linea ad oſtium fluminis Vararis ducta terminos oſtendit [Veſpaſianæ]. The Creones therefore came up nearly to Dunbarton, as the Attacotti inhabited only the banks of the Cluyd, Clottæ ripas incolebant (p. 31). And, as the river Longus was the ſouthern boundary of the Creones, it muſt be the preſent Loch Long; and Ptolemy's Epidian promontory and river Longus have been tranſpoſed. Such tranſpoſitions we find in the fourteenth and twelfth Iter of Antoninus, compared with the eleventh of Richard.—

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p. 422.

[19] Richard's

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[19] Richard's map is again inaccurate. The Proper Caledonians are all fixed to the north of the Varar, when they all lay to the ſouth of it. The Carnabii are extended over all the north of the iſland, and the Catini placed to the ſouth of them. And the Creones and Cerones are tranſpoſed. Ptolemy has equally tranſpoſed them. But Richard's deſcription is more authentick than either.—Dr. Stukeley's map has repeated all theſe miſtakes, and added others; omitting alſo all the dotted boundaries of the kingdoms. The Caledonian wood, to which Richard's map ſeems not to have given any particular poſition, the Dr. has planted to the north of the Proper Caledonians, and even to the weſt of the Mertæ and Logi. The Carnabii are placed to the ſouth of the river Nabæus. And the Carnonacæ, who ſhould begin immediately to the ſouth of the Nabæus, are puſhed down to the ſouth of the Straba fluvius, and have the whole body of the Catini intērpoſing betwixt them and their northern barrier. —[20] Agric. V. c. 25 and 29.—[21] Cæſar p. 34, Britanniæ imperium.—[22] Richard p. 50.—[23] Ptolemy.—[24] Richard p. 25.—[25] Cæſar p. 88 and Richard p. 50.—[26] Richard p. 25.—[27] Richard p. 51: and Nennius calls him only Rex Bellinus (c. 14).—[28] Cæſar p. 88.—[29] Cæſar p. 92.—[30] See b. I. c. iii. ſ. 2.—[31] Dio p. 227 and Cæſar p. 88.—[32] B. I. c. ix. ſ. 1.—[33] Suetonius in Calig. and Dio p. 957 and 959.—[34] See ch. ix. ſ. 1. before.—[35] Tacitus Ann. l. xii. c. 33, Caractaci—quem—extulerant ut cæteros Britannorum imperatores preemineret. And Caractacus ſays of himſelf c. 37, that he was pluribus gentibus imperitantem.—[36] See a miſtake there-

fore in Richard p. 7.—[37] Agric. V. c. 25, 27, and 29. Sect. II.
—[38] Ibid. c. 29.—[39] See hereafter.—[40] Agric. V. c. 25 and Martial l. x. E. 44.—[41] Offian pref. to vol. II. p. iv.—[42] Agric. V. c. 25, Richard p. 29 and 30, and P. 423. Dio p. 1280. See alſo ſ. 4.—[43] Richard p. 18 and 26. —[44] Minores populi, Richard p. 32. See ſ. 4. And thus the Iſraelites have been long denominated Judæi or Jews, from the name of their principal tribe.—[45] Dio p. 1280.—[46] Ibid.—[47] The real name of the people that merely lived next to the wall of Antoninus, was Horeſtii and Attacotti. But the Mæatæ were ſeveral nations, Dio p. 1280, συλλεχωρησεν.—[48] See Genuine Hiſt. of the Britons aſſerted, p. 136—137.—[49] A. Marcellinus l. xxvii. c. 8. and Ptolemy. So Dubana, now the river Ban in Ireland. So ſeveral places in Wales are denominated Deu-draeth or the ſea-beach. And the inhabitants that range ſucceſſively along the ſhore of Scotland, in Roſs, Sutherland, and Cathneſs, are ſometimes called by the Highlanders An Duaghael, and their country is ſometimes denominated An Duaghael-dock, to the preſent moment (Crit. Diſſ. Pref. p. viii). —As Dy or Du are the ſame word in the Celtick pronunciation, Ammianus's Di-caledones is a good reading and needs no alteration.—The prefacer to Dr. Macpherſon's Critical Diſſertations (p. viii) derives Deucaledones from their northerly poſition, as Baxter had before derived it from their ſoutherly. But their poſition was neither in the north nor ſouth of Caledonia. They lay along the weſtern coaſt, as appears from the weſtern ocean being denominated the Deucaledonian in Ptolemy.—[50] Eumenius's Paneg.—[51] Except by Verſtegan,

Sect. II. gan, who ridiculouſly derives the word from the Saxon Fight and Fighter, and by Dr. Macpherſon in Crit. Diſſ., who idly deduces it from Pictdich a robber, p. iii. —[52] Claudian, Nec falſo nomine Pictos. But in c. vii. ſ. 5. I have already ſhewn the Provincials to have retained the cuſtom of painting, as well as the Caledonians. — [53] Nennius c. 2. — [54] Mona p. 261 and 262, and Lhuyd p. 19 and 20.—[55] See Lhuyd ibid.—[56] Ch. i. ſ. 1. — [57] See Pliny l. iv. c. 16, Albion ipſi nomen fuit, cum Britanniæ vocarentur omnes. — [58] And the name
P. 424. was accordingly communicated at laſt to the inhabitants of Veſpaſiana, as they were, in the third and fourth centuries, equally with the other Caledonians without the pale of the Roman empire: See b. II. c. 1.—Such of the Caledonians as we now call Highlanders, ſtill denominate themſelves by the equivalent appellation of Al-ban-ich, the inhabitants of the Alb-an or Hills. The whole body of the Caledonians was alſo denominated Cruithnich (Baxter and Mr. Macpherſon's pref. to vol. II. p. v.). And this name has been generally derived from Craith, a cut or wound; the Picts making little inciſions in their bodies in order to impreſs the painting, Ferro picta genas (Claudian). But it has been recently interpreted to ſignify the eaters of corn or wheat; the Picts being ſtrangely ſuppoſed to live only along the eaſtern coaſt of Scotland, and to be diſtinguiſhed from the other Caledonians by the knowledge of agriculture (Mr. Macpherſon, ditto). Both etymologies are obviouſly abſurd. The provincials (as I have ſhewn c. vii. ſ. 5) equally painted their bodies as the Picts. And the Picts actually lived on the weſtern and

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and northern coaſt, as well as the eaſtern. And, whatever is the etymon of the name, the appellation was not peculiar to the Caledonians. One of the diviſions of the Iriſh tribes was ſometimes denominated Crutheni; and Cruthen makes Cruthen-ich in the relative adjective. And in Ware's Patricii Opuſcula, London 1656, their country is ſaid to be in the northern parts of Ulſter (p. 114). The name, I believe, is nothing more than Cruth-en-i or the Harpers, by which all the Iriſh have been diſtinguiſhed in the title of Citharædi; the harp having been as much the national inſtrument of muſick to all the Britons, as it is the national enſign of the Iriſh at preſent.—[59] Agric. V. c. 24, 25, 26, and 29.—[60] Oſſian V. ii. p. 194.—[61] Richard's Itinerary.—[62] Ibid. Fingal was the great grandſon of this pendragon by Trathal and Comhal, and, when he was yet young, oppoſed Caracalla in 211 (p. 87. v. i). Allowing therefore 20 years or thereabouts to Fingal, and 30 to Comhal and as many to Trathal, we come very near to the only period of the ſecond century, in which *the ſtrangers* or Romans invaded the country, P. 425. and fought many battles with the Caledonians (v. ii. p. 195 and 196). And, as Comhal died the day on which Fingal was born (v. i. p. 114), the requiſite deduction of 9 or 10 years from Comhal's 30 will bring us exactly to the period. — Selma was his capital, and planted in the wood of Morven (Oſſian vol. II. p. 195). And a large part of Lochaber is named Morvain to this day. As king of the Creones, he was called ſovereign of Selma or Morven. As pendragon, he was called Trenmor, Teyrn or Tren Mor, the Great King: ſee

Oſſian

Sect. II. Oſſian vol. I. p. 132 and 222 &c.—[63] See preface to Crit. Diſſ. p. ix. for the fact. And the bounding line of Caledonia and Veſpaſiana is drawn by Richard exactly along this chain of hills: Veſpaſiana autem a Bdoræ Æſtuario ad civitatem Alcluith, unde linea ad oſtium fluminis Vararis ducta terminos oſtendit (p. 15). —[64] Richard p. 52.—[65] Oſſian v. I. p. 87 expreſsly mentions Fingal to have oppoſed Caracalla in 211. And, as Fingal had then been in Lochlin and loved Agandecca, the firſt of his loves (p. 42), and therefore prior to Comala (p. 87), he muſt have equally oppoſed Severus, who came into Britain only in 207 (Richard p. 52). —[66] Herodian l. iii. c. 48.—[67] Dio p. 1281 and Herodian ibid.—[68] Dio p. 1281.—[69] Richard p. 53, Mæatis, and Richard p. 32, Citerior pars [Caledoniæ] alio atque alio tempore ab illis [Romanis] poſſeſſa fuit, and Dio p. 1282.—[70] Dio p. 1283.—[71] Ibid.—[72] Oſſian v. I. p. 92.—[73] Oſſian v. I. p. 91
P. 426. and 92, Dio p. 1287, and Richard p. 53.—[74] Richard p. 59, Dio p. 1209 and 1260, and Herodian l. iii. c. 46. —[75] Ammianus l. xxvii. c. 8. and Richard p. 53.

III.

THE Saxons have been derived by our hiſtorians from very different parts of the globe, India, the north of Aſia, and the foreſts of Germany. And their appellation has been equally referred to very different cauſes, the name of their Indian progenitor, the plundering diſpoſition of their Aſiatick fathers, and the

ſhort

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ſhort hooked weapons of their warriours. But the real origin of the Saxons, and the genuine derivation of their name, ſeem clearly to be theſe.

In the earlier period of the Gallick hiſtory, the Celtæ of Gaul croſſed the Rhine in conſiderable numbers, and planted various colonies in the regions beyond it [1]. Thus the Volcæ Tectoſages ſettled on one ſide of the Hercynian foreſt and about the banks of the Neckar, the Helvetii upon another and about the Rhine and Maine, the Boii beyond both, and the Senones in the heart of Germany [2]. Thus alſo we ſee the Treviri, the Nervii, the Suevi, and the Marcomanni, the Quadi, the Venedi, and others, in that country; all plainly betrayed to be Gallick nations by the Gallick appellations which they bear, and all together poſſeſſing the greateſt part of it [3]. And, even as late as the concluſion of the firſt century, we find one nation on the eaſtern ſide of this great continent actually ſpeaking the language of Gaul, and another upon the northern uſing a dialect nearly related to the Britiſh [4]. But, as all the various tribes of the Germans are conſidered by Strabo to be γνησιοι Γαλαται or genuine Gauls in their origin [5], ſo thoſe particularly that lived immediately beyond the Rhine, and are aſſerted by Tacitus to be indubitably native Germans [6], are expreſsly denominated Γαλαται or Gauls by Diodorus, and as expreſsly declared by Dio to have been diſtinguiſhed by the equivalent appellation of Celtæ from the earlieſt period [7]. And the broad line of nations, which extended along the ocean and reached to the borders of Scythia, was all known to the learned in

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the

Sect. III. the days of Diodorus by the ſame ſignificant appellation of Γαλάται or Gauls [8].

Of theſe, the moſt noted were the Si-Cambri and Cimbri [9]; the former being ſeated near the channel of the Rhine [10], and the latter inhabiting the peninſula of Jutland [11]. And the denominations of both declare their original; and ſhew them to have been derived from the common ſtock of the Celtæ, and to be of the ſame Celtick kindred with the Cimbri of our own Somerſetſhire, and the Cymri or Cambrians of our own Wales. The Cimbri are accordingly denominated Celtæ by Strabo and Appian [12]. And they are equally aſſerted to be Gauls by Diodorus; to be the deſcendants of that nation which ſacked the city of Rome, plundered the temple of Delphi, and ſubdued a great part of Europe and ſome of Aſia [13].

Immediately to the ſouth of theſe were the Saxons, and extended from the iſthmus of the Cherſoneſus to the current of the Elbe [14]. And they were equally Celtick in their origin as their neighbours. They were denominated Ambrones as well as Saxons [15]; and, as ſuch, are included by Tacitus under the general appellation of Cimbri [16], and comprehended in Plutarch under the equal one of Celto-Scythæ [17]. And the name of Ambrones appears particularly to have been Gallick; being common to the Saxons beyond the Elbe and the Ligurians in Ciſalpine Gaul, as both found to their ſurprize, on the irruption of the former into Italy with the Cimbri [18]. And, what is equally ſurprizing, and has been equally unnoticed by the criticks, the Welſh diſtinguiſh England by the name of

Loegr

Loegr or Liguria even to the preſent moment. In that irruption theſe Saxons, Ambrons, or Ligurians compoſed a body of more than thirty thouſand men, and were principally concerned in cutting to pieces the large armies of Manlius and Cæpio [19]. Nor is the appellation of Saxons leſs Celtick than the other. It was originally, I think, the ſame with the Belgick Sueſſones of Gaul; the capital of that tribe being now entitled Soiſons by the French, and the name of the Saxons pronounced Saiſen by the Welſh, Saſon by the Scotch, and Saſenach or Saxſenach by the Iriſh. And the Sueſſones or Saxones of Gaul derived their own appellation from the poſition of their metropolis on a river, the ſtream at Soiſons being now denominated the Aiſne and formerly the Axon [20]; Ueſſ-on or Axon importing only waters or a river, and S-ueſſ-on or S-ax-on the waters or the river. The Sueſſones, therefore, are actually denominated the Ueſſones by Ptolemy. And the Saxones are actually entitled the Axones by Lucan [21].

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Theſe, with their brethren and allies the Cimbri, having been more formidable enemies to the Romans by land, than the Samnites, Carthaginians, Spaniards, Gauls, or Parthians [22], in the ſecond century applied themſelves to navigation, and became nearly as terrible by ſea. They ſoon made themſelves known to the inhabitants of the Britiſh iſles by their piracies in the northern channels [23], and were denominated by them Lochlyn or Lochlynach; Lucd Lyn ſignifying the people of the wave, and the D being quieſcent in the pronunciation [24]. They took poſſeſſion of the Orkney iſlands, which were then merely large ſhoals of ſand,

Sect. III. uncovered with woods, and overgrown with ruſhes [25]. And they landed in the north of Ireland, and ravaged the country [26]. Before the middle of the third century they made a ſecond deſcent upon the latter, diſembarked a conſiderable body of men, and deſigned the abſolute ſubjection of the iſland [27]. Before the concluſion of it, they carried their naval operations to the ſouth, infeſted the Britiſh channel with their little veſſels, and made frequent deſcents upon the coaſts [28]. And in the fourth and fifth, acting in conjunction with the Picts of Caledonia and the Scots of Ireland, they ravaged all the eaſtern and ſouth-eaſtern ſhores of Britain, began the formal conqueſt of the country, and
P. 429. finally ſettled their victorious ſoldiery in the kingdom of Lancaſhire and the houſes of Mancheſter [29].

[1] Cæſar p. 123 and Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 28.— [2] Cæſar and Tacitus ibid., Livy l. v. c. 34, and Ptolemy. Tacitus therefore is inconſiſtent with himſelf, in thinking the Germans to be unmixed c. 2 and 4.— [3] Tacitus c. 28, 38, 42, and 46.— [4] Tacitus c. 43 and 45.— [5] P. 444.— [6] C. 28.— [7] Diodorus p. 350 and Dio p. 216. See alſo Dio p. 704.— [8] P. 355. See alſo Plutarch's life of Marius p. 495. v. II. Bryan. And Dio p. 1179 ſpeaks of the Germans by the appellation of the Celtæ beyond the Rhine.— [9] Strabo p. 451.— [10] Strabo p. 444 and 447, and Cæſar p. 129.— [11] Strabo p. 449.— [12] P. 449 and 450. And Appian ſays, that all Italy was greatly afraid of the Celtæ, till the Romans under Marius defeated the Cimbri; p. 1196,

Amſtel.

Amſtel. 1670.—[13] Strabo p. 355.—[14] Ptolemy.—[15] Αμ- Sect. III.
βρωνες in Plutarch and Αμβρονες in Dio; Nennius (Bertram p. 140 and 143.—[16] C. 37, compared with Plutarch p. 506 vol. II. concerning the defeat of Manlius and Cæpio.—[17] P. 405 compared with p. 501.—[18] Plutarch p. 506. — Ambron in Celtick ſignifies fierce. Hence Ambrones lupi in Gildas c. 13. And ſo alſo Ambrones by itſelf in Bonifacii epiſt. i. p. 79. tom. 13. of Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum. But this is only the ſecondary idea of the word, as Camber latterly ſignified a thief and Briganticus a turbulent man. The original word is probably the ſame with Camber; the aſpirate being omitted as in Umbri or Cimbri &c., and Camber making Cambri or Cambrones in the plural. And, as I have ſhewn, they are actually called Cimbri by Tacitus.—[19] Plutarch p. 506.—[20] See Cæſar p. 34.—[21] Ptolemy p. 53. Bertius, and Lucan l. i. 423. —[22] Tacitus c. 37. — [23] Oſſian v. I. p. 6. — [24] Ibid. They are therefore called the ſons of ocean (vol. I. p. 17). And the Norwegians and Danes in the ninth century were called Lochlonnach or mariners (Ware's Ant. by Harris p. 60). So in Oſſian vol. I. p. 3, 7, and 14.—[25] Oſſian vol. I. p. 14. and Solinus c. 22.—[26] Oſſian vol. I. p. 17.—[27] Oſſian vol. I. p. 26 and 16. Fingal was then a middle-aged man, all his ſons being adults.—[28] Eutropius l. ix. c. 21.—[29] A further account of the Saxons, Angles, aud Jutes may be expected in b. II. c. vi. ſ. 2, and ſtill more in b. III. c. 1.

IV.

P. 430. CONFEDERATED with the Picts and Saxons was another nation, that equally occaſioned the Roman departure from Mancheſter, and equally cauſed the calamities of Roman Britain. Theſe were the Scots, a people that has been wildly derived from Scythia, Spain, and Caledonia; and whoſe real origin and hiſtory have for a century and a half engaged two nations of contending antiquarians in war, and hitherto remain involved in the obſcurities of tradition and the dreams of conjecture. But their origin, I preſume, may now be clearly aſcertained. And their hiſtory, I think, may now be authentically detailed.

[1] The iſle of Ireland was inhabited by eighteen tribes; by one upon the northern and three on the ſouthern ſhore, ſeven on the weſtern, ſix on the eaſtern, and one in the center.

Along the eaſtern coaſt and the Vergivian or Internal ocean, were ranged the Damnii, the Voluntii, and the Eblani, the Caucii, the Menapii, and the Coriondii. The firſt inhabited a part of the two counties of Antrim and Down, extending from Fair-Head, the moſt north-eaſterly extremity of the iſland, to Iſamnum Promontorium, or the point of Ardglas haven in the county of Down [2]; and having the Logia or Lagan, which falls into Carrickfergus Bay, within their poſſeſſions, and Dunum or Down-Patrick for their capital. The Voluntii poſſeſſed the coaſt from the point of

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of that haven to the river Buvinda or Boyne, the remainder of Down, the breadth of Ardmagh, and all Louth; having the Vinderus or Carlingford river in their dominions, and the town of Laberus near the river Deva, Atherdee in the county of Louth, for their metropolis [3]. And the Eblani reached from the Boyne to the Læbius, Læv-ui, or Liffy; reſiding in Eaſt-Meath, and in the large portion of Dublin county which is to the north of this river; and acknowledging Mediolanum, Eblana, or Dublin for their principal town [4]. The Caucii ſpread from the Liffy to the Letrim, the Oboca of the antients; had the reſt of Dublin county, and ſuch parts of Wicklow as lie to the north of the latter; and owned Dunum or Rath-Downe for their chief city. The Menapii occupied the coaſt betwixt the Letrim and Cancarne-point, all the reſt of Wicklow, and all Wexford to the point; their chief town, Menapia, being placed upon and to the eaſt of Modona, Slanus, or Slane [5]. And the Coriondii inhabited at the back of the Caucii and Menapii, to the weſt of the Slane and Liffy, and in all Kildare and all Catherlogh; being limited by the Boyne and Barrow on the weſt, the Eblani on the north, and the Brigantes on the ſouth.

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Upon the ſouthern ſhore and along the verge of the Cantabrian ocean, lay the Brigantes, the Vodiæ, and the Ibernii. The firſt owned the reſt of Wexford and all Waterford: extending to the Blackwater, Aven-More, or Dabrona on the ſouth-weſt; having the great mouth of the Barrow within their territories, and Brigantia, Waterford, or ſome town near it, for their

Sect. IV. firſt city; and giving the name of Brigas to the Suir or Swire, their limitary ſtream on the north, and the appellation of Bergie to their own part of the county of Wexford. The Vodiæ poſſeſſed the ſhire of Corke from the Blackwater to the Ban, the river of Kinſale, and the Dobona or Dubana [6] of the antients; and affixed the name of Vodium Promontorium to the point of Balycotton iſland [6]. And the Iberni inhabited the remainder of Corke, and all that part of Kerry which lies to the ſouth-eaſt of Dingle ſound; having Rufina or Ibaune for their capital, the Promontorium Auſtrinum or Miſſen-Head about the middle of their dominions, and the river Ibernus or Dingle ſound for their northern barrier; and leaving their names to the three diviſions of Ibaune, Beare, and Iveragh [7].

Upon the weſtern ſhore of the iſland and along the Great Britannick or Atlantick ocean, were the Lucanii or Lucenii [8], the Velaborii, and the Cangani [9], the Auterii, the Nagnatæ, the Hardinii [10], and Venicnii. The Lucenii inhabited the peninſula of land P. 432. that lies along the river Ibernus or Dingle ſound, and perhaps ſome adjoining parts of Kerry. The Velaborii ranged along the ſmall remainder of the latter, and over the whole of Limerick to the Senus or Shannon; having the Durius or Caſheen flowing through their dominions [7], and Regia, Limerick, or ſome town near it [7], for their metropolis. And the latter was probably that city near Limerick, the ſite of which is ſtill famous, and retains the appellation of Cathair or the fortreſs; and where the remains of ſtreets, and other marks of a

town,

town, may yet be traced [7]. The Cangani lived in the county of Clare: Macolicum near the Shannon [11], perhaps Feakle or Melick, being their principal town; a headland in the Bay of Galway, near Glaniny, being denominated Beniſamnum Promontorium; and the adjoining iſles of Arran called Inſulæ Canganæ [7]. The Auterii were ſettled in the county of Galway; winding along the deep receſs of the Sinus Auſoba or Bay of Galway; ſtretching towards the north as far as the Libnius, or the river that bounds the ſhire in part; and poſſeſſing the ſmall portion of Mayo, which lies to the ſouth of it. And theſe were ſubject to Auterium, antiently Aterith, and now Athenree; and have left their name to the diviſion of Athenree. The Nagnatæ occupied the reſt of the large county of Mayo, all Sligo and all Roſcommon, all Letrim as far as Logh Allin on the ſouth-eaſt, and all Fermanagh to Balyſhannon and Logh Erne; being bounded by the Rhebius or river of Balyſhannon, and the Lake Rhebius or Logh Erne; having a deep bay, called Magnus Sinus, that curves along Mayo, Sligo, and Letrim counties; and acknowledging Nagnat, Necmaht, or Alnecmaht [12], the town of the Nagnatæ, for their capital. And the Hardinii and Venicnii were confederated together under the title of the Venicnian nations, extended from Balyſhannon to the North-Cape, and poſſeſſed all Donnegalle, except the two whole diviſions of Raphoe and Enis-Owen, and the eaſtern part of Killmacrenen. The Venicnii lay along the immediate margin of the ſhore, giving name to the Promontorium Venicnium or Cape Horn, and to the Inſula Venicnia or North-Arran Iſland. And their metropolis Rheba was

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Sect. IV. ſeated upon the lake Rhebius, and in the country of the Hardinii on the ſouth-eaſt [7].

Upon the northern ſhore and along the margin of the Deucaledonian ocean, were only the Robogdii; inha-
P. 433. biting the reſt of Donnegalle, all Derry, and all Antrim to the Fair-Head and the Damnii; and giving their own name to the former and the diviſion of Raphoe. And they had the rivers Vidua or Ship-harbour, Argita or Logh Swilly, Darabouna or Logh Foile, and Banna or Ban, in their territories; and acknowledged Robogdium, Robogh, or Raphoe, for their chief city.

The central regions of the iſland, all Tyrone, the remainder of Fermanagh and Letrim, all Monaghan, and the reſt of Ardmagh; all Cavan, all Longford, and all Weſt-Meath; all the King's and Queen's county, all Kilkenny, and all Tipperary; were planted by the Scoti. The Shannon, Logh Allin, and Logh Erne were their great boundaries on the weſt; the Barrow, Boyne, and Logh Neagh on the eaſt; the Swire and Blackwater on the ſouth; and a chain of mountains on the north. And the two greateſt of their towns were Rheba, a city ſeated, like the Rheba of the Venicnians, upon the lake and river Rhebius, but on a different part of them, and ſomewhere in the north of Cavan; and Ibernia, a town placed a little to the eaſt of the Shannon, and ſomewhere in the county of Tipperary [13].

When the Belgæ firſt landed upon the ſouthern ſhore of Britain, about three hundred and fifty years before the Chriſtian æra, and took poſſeſſion of Kent, Suſſex, Hampſhire, Dorſetſhire, and Devonſhire; the Britons,

Britons, diſlodged from their antient ſettlements, tranſ- Sect. IV.
ported themſelves into the neighbouring iſle of Ireland [14]. That fine country was then entirely unoccupied, and now firſt received a colony of inhabitants into it [15]. And it was denominated Er-in, Ier-ine, Ier-ne, or Ivernia. Er, Ier, or Iver ſignify the weſtern; and Inis, Ine, or In import the iſland [16]. And the colony was afterwards augmented by the addition of other Britons, equally diſlodged from their native regions by the Belgæ, and equally repairing to the wilds of Ireland. This ſecond embarkation was made about two hundred and fifty years after the firſt, when Divitiacus reduced the Bibroces of Surry, the Caſſii of Middleſex and Eſſex, the Segontiaci, Hædui, Cimbri, and Carnabii [17]. And both of them, flying equally from the dominion of the Belgæ, P. 434.
very naturally incorporated themſelves into one ſociety; and were as naturally diſtinguiſhed among the Britons by one denomination, the very appoſite name of the Scuites or Scots, the Wanderers, or the Refugees [18].

The next colonies, that were eſtabliſhed in Ireland, were in all probability the Damnii and Robogdii; the name of the former tribe plainly marking its origin from the Damnii of Valentia, and both pretty certainly croſſing the ſtrait from Galloway and Cantire. The Epidii and Damnii of Britain lying the neareſt of any nations to the iſle of Ireland, they muſt therefore be ſuppoſed, after the extraordinary embarkation of the Scots, to have been the firſt that made ſettlements within it. And the Damnii, who once owned all the ſea-coaſt from the borders of Galloway to the wall of Antoninus, and had even ſubdued the Horeſtii, Attacotti, and Albani beyond it,

muſt

Sect. IV. muſt equally (I apprehend) have poſſeſſed all Galloway weſt of the Dee, and have willingly reſigned it up to the tribe of the Nou-ant-es or New-comers. This appears from its appellation to have been a nation of foreigners, and from its ſituation was in all probability derived from the neighbouring ſhore of Ireland. And it was very probably a body of the Iriſh Damnii, that, upon ſome rencounters betwixt the Robogdii or Voluntii and them, had retired from the iſland about the period of Agricola's entrance into Lancaſhire, had recroſſed the ſea to the directly oppoſite coaſt of Galloway, and been allowed to ſettle peaceably in the country. They were nearly related enough to the Damnii, to be admitted into a participation of their territories; and had been abſent long enough from the country, to be denominated Nouantes or ſtrangers. And, what ſeems a ſtriking confirmation of the opinion, an Iriſh monarch appears expreſsly from Tacitus to have been expelled from the iſland juſt at that period, and in ſome internal commotion of it; who was treated with a very artful friendlineſs by Agricola, and gave the Romans a very juſt and encouraging information concerning the weakneſs of the ſtate; and with whom Agricola had P. 435. once reſolved to make a deſcent upon Ireland, and to land in the region of the Damnii [19].

Theſe two embarkations were moſt probably cauſed by the mere populouſneſs of Britain, crouded as it now began to be with inhabitants, and by the mere vicinity of Ireland, very plain as it appeared to the eye from the ſhores of Cantire and Galloway. But the ſucceeding ones were occaſioned by the wars of the Britons among

among themſelves, and of the Romans againſt the Britons and Belgæ. And to theſe cauſes are the ſettlements of moſt of the colonies expreſsly attributed by Richard [20]. Sect. IV.

About half a century before Chriſt, as I have formerly ſhewn, the Carnabii of Cheſhire entered the kingdom of the Ordovices, and ſubdued the county of Shrewsbury. And on this invaſion the Ordovices, that lived in the north of Shropſhire and the neighbourhood of Mediolanum, ſeem to have paſſed over into Ireland, and to have retained the memorial of their origin in the name of their capital, Eblana or Mediolanum [21]. The former name evidently affixed the new appellation of Eblani to the tribe. And the latter ſeems as evidently to point out the old appellation of its city. Thus the colony of the Cantii, which ſpread from Trinovantum or London over the reſt of Middleſex and the whole of Eſſex, carried the name of their original city in their denomination of Trinovantes. The Rhemi of Gaul in the neighbourhood of Bibrax, coming over in a colony to Britain, and ſettling in the ſouth-eaſtern parts of Berkſhire, conſtructed the new city of Bibrac-te, and formed the new tribe of the Bibroc-es. And we ſhall ſoon find the Menapii and others to have come into Ireland from particular towns in Britain, and to have retained the name of their original city in the title of their tribe. And the Guetheling or Watling Street was probably conſtructed about fifty or ſixty years after the ſettlement of theſe Mediolanenſes on the coaſt, and carried from the Rhutupæ of the Cantii to the Segontium of the Ordovices, in order to traffick with theſe the tranſplanted Ordovices of Ireland.

About

Sect. IV. P. 436. About the commencement of the Chriſtian æra, the Brigantes of Yorkſhire and Durham, as I have ſhewed before, invaded the counties of Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, Lancaſter, and Cheſter; and three new tribes ſeem to have ſettled in the iſland. Theſe are the Voluntii, the Caucii, and the Coriondii. The name of the Voluntii is an indication of their origin. And that of the Caucii ſeems equally to indicate theirs, and to note their derivation from Lancaſhire. When the name of a town on the weſtern coaſt of Britain is retained in the appellation of a tribe upon the oppoſite ſhore of Ireland, we muſt naturally conclude the one to have given denomination to the other. And that the nations of the Caucii and Menapii were not, as Richard aſſerts them to be, two colonies from the Cauchi and Menapii of Germany, we have poſitive reaſons to conclude. Hiſtory fully aſſures us, that all the tribes of the country came originally from Britain [22]. All thoſe of its eaſtern ſhore, in particular, muſt therefore have come from the oppoſite coaſt of our iſland. And we find the names of places in the regions which both of them poſſeſſed, clearly and invariably Gallick; as Modona, Slanus, Clone-gall, and Scare-walch, Ballinacur, Ballinderry, Rathdurm, and Kilkenny, Kilnemore, Ballifoyle, Kilruſh, Killenagh, and Balageene, among the Menapii; and as Dunum the metropolis and Oboca the limitary ſtream, Rathmines, Rathgar, Rathfarnum, and Dundrum, Killininy, Kellgobbin, Killternan, Rath-Downe, Killcooli, and Killtemen, among the Caucii. The Caucii and Menapii, therefore, are as little Teutonick in their origin as the Damnii and Voluntii; muſt

as

as well as they have deſcended from the oppoſite ſhore of Britain; and, like the Bibroces of Berkſhire, are derived from ſome town of a ſimilar appellation with themſelves. And the Caucii muſt be derived from the Coccium of the Siſtuntii, a town the only one upon the coaſt that bears a ſimilar name, and a tribe the moſt likely of all others to have ſettled immediately to the ſouth of the Voluntii. Thus did Lancaſhire ſend a colony of her children, to plant the eaſtern ſhore of Ireland [23]. And the Coriondii (I apprehend) were derived from the neighbourhood of that county, the Carnabii of Cheſhire. The name might be written either Carnabii, Corinavii, or Coriondii. And the laſt is exactly the ſame with the firſt, and only Diu ſubſtituted for Ab or Av [24]. Sect. IV. P. 437.

Thus far the Britons had lived unmixed with the Belgæ in Ireland, now conſiſted of ſeven tribes, and poſſeſſed all the northern, eaſtern, and central parts of the iſland. And, ſo generally inhabited, it naturally received an appellation additional to its original name. That was not, like this, deduced merely from its poſition with reſpect to our iſland; but was borrowed from the one common denomination of its poſſeſſors. And it was the appellation of Inis-Fael or Inis-Fallin [25], the iſland of the Fael, Faell-in, or Gauls. The F, V, and W in the Celtick language are equivalent letters [26]; and Fael, Vael, and Wall all equally expreſs the one denomination of the Britons. Among the Welſh we have Cad-Fael-Hydr or Cad-Wal-adr, Hy-Fael or Ho-Wel, and Diofna-Fael or Dyfn-Wall [27]. The channel betwixt France and England is denominated by a writer of the eighth century only, Sinus Vallicus or the Gallick

Sect. IV. lick ſtrait. And, as the Dutch and Germans call the French by the name of Walls and Walloons to this day, ſo the Saxon Chronicle ſpeaks of the Britons by the title of the Brit-walas or Brit-walana [27]. The denomination of the Britons among themſelves and in all the neighbouring nations, was popularly Gall or Wall. Hence the ſame Chronicle mentions frequently the troops under Hengiſt and Ælla, ſoon after the commencement of the war with the Britons, to have routed the Wealas, Wyliſhe, or Welſh in Kent and Suſſex [28]. And the Britons of the Highlands denominate themſelves the Caelich or Gallick, and thoſe of Ireland entitle themſelves the Eirinach or Iriſh Caelich, even to the preſent period. This appellation, which extended over all our iſlands and a conſiderable portion of the continent, has been frequently attempted to be explained by the criticks both at home and abroad; but has its meaning ſtill hid in obſcurity. The genuine import of the word, however, ſeems pretty obvious to an attentive mind. And I ſhall endeavour to throw a ſtronger light upon it.

The Iriſh and Highlanders, as I have already remarked, reciprocally denominate themſelves by the ge-
P. 438. neral title of Gael, Cael, or Gauls. But they alſo denominate themſelves, and the Welſh originally called themſelves [29], and ſtill call both, by the title of Guidhyl, Guethel, and Gathel. And this appellation is the origin of the other. The intermediate TH being left quieſcent in the pronunciation, Gathel is immediately formed into Gael. Such a quieſcence, in general, appears from the Iriſh language at preſent to have

have been frequent in the Britiſh. And this in particular appears actually in uſe among the Britons. Thus the appellation of a fortreſs, Kadair and Kathair, is now pronounced Kahir in the Iriſh, and was formerly reſolved into Guiher, and is now melted into Kaer and Gaer, in the Welſh; and the names of Cathbait, Cruthgall, Sithfadda, and the like, are pronounced Cabait, Crugall, and Sifadda, in the Highlands at preſent. And this Britiſh mode of pronunciation is even retained in the provincial Engliſh of the preſent day; Burthen being equally in Wales and Lancaſhire contracted into Burn; the names of Rauthmell, Rathbone, and Withnell being popularly pronounced Raumel, Rabone, and Winell in Lancaſhire; and a variety of other words, in every part of the iſland, ſuffering the ſame eliſion in converſation. Thus alſo the appellation of a diſtrict in Caledonia, which was antiently written Ar-Gathel, is now written becauſe it has been always pronounced Ar-Gael or Ar-Gyle. And the TH of this very word is actually loſt in the pronunciation both of the Iriſh and Highlanders at preſent; and Gathel is actually ſounded like Gael by both [30]. The Celtick name of Guidhyl, Guethel, or Gathel, therefore, was originally the ſame with Cael, Gael, or Gaul, and the actual parent of it. Sect. IV.

But this is not all. The ſilent letters are frequently transferred from the middle to the concluſion of the word, where they are no longer ſilent; and, as Needle is changed into Neeld in Lancaſhire, and Kathair formed into Carth and Garth, ſo Gathel is changed into Galath. And we ſee the fact directly exemplified, in the P. 439.

Gael

Sect. IV. Gael of the continent being ſo frequently denominated Galatæ by the antients.

Gathel, Gael, and Galath, therefore, are all one and the ſame varying appellation. And it ſignifies merely the Woodlanders. Guylh-t and Guel-z import among the Iriſh, the Welſh, and the Armoricans, a man of the Guylh, Guel, or wood; all of them the evident remains of the antient Guidhil or Guethel, a wood. Coil, the ſame with the Guylh of the Welſh, and anſwering to Gael and Cael, is the cuſtomary term for the ſame object among the Iriſh and Highlanders at preſent. And Gulad occurs in Gulad-ædh, the Welſh for a foreſter, and Kelyd appears in Kelydhon, the Britiſh for a foreſt; correſponding to Galath and Galat, and ſignifying with them a wood. The celebrated appellations therefore of Gathel-i, Gall-i, Galat-æ, Calet-es, An-Calit-es, and Celt-æ ſignify merely a thicket. And bearing the Celtick prefix before them, which is uſed in the hiſtory of Ireland to the preſent period, as Fir-Bolg and Fir-Damnon; and which muſt have been previouſly uſed in more than half the national appellations of Britain, as Fir-Cant, Fir-Trinovant, Fir-Carnab, Fir-Siſtuntiu, and various others; all theſe names imported merely the Man of the Thicket. But, in one national denomination of the very ſame origin, the termination is a little different, becauſe the word is in the plural number. And Kelyd or Caled lengthens into Kelyd-on or Caled-on woods. Thus Caled-on became the antient appellation for all the foreſts of the Gatheli and Galli in Britain. Thus Fir-Caledon or Caledon-es was equally the antient name for the Gathel and Gael of the Highlands.

Highlands. And Caledonius was occaſionally among the Romans a denomination equivalent to Britannicus, and applied equally with it to all the Gathel and Gael of the iſland [31]. Sect. IV. P. 400.

But about forty-five years after the Chriſtian æra, when Veſpaſian attacked the Proper Belgæ, Durotriges, and Damnonii, fought thirty battles with them, and took more than twenty of their towns [32]; many of the Belgæ would naturally put to ſea from the coaſts of Dorſetſhire, Devonſhire, Somerſetſhire, and Cornwall, and ſteer for the ſouthern ſhore of Ireland [33]. That the Belgæ or Fir-Bolg were ſettled in ſeveral colonies upon the ſouth of the iſland, is ſufficiently evident on the face of the Iriſh hiſtory. And that they came generally from the coaſts of Devonſhire, Cornwall, and South-Somerſetſhire, or the extended dominions of the Damnonii, is equally evident from their other appellation of Fir-Damnon among the Iriſh.

The firſt body of the Belgæ that landed in Ireland, was a ſmall embarkation from Inis-huna [34]. And this is ſuppoſed by Mr. Macpherſon to be a part of the great iſland of Britain, and ſomewhere upon the ſouth-weſtern coaſt of it. But, as the name ſhews it to have been an iſle, ſo the circumſtances mentioned concerning it mark it to have been a conſiderable one at the point of Cornwall. It is plainly implied to have been eminent for its arts of navigation; and expreſsly declared to be ſeparated from another land by a narrow frith, and to ſtand at the meeting of two ſeas [34]. And it was therefore one of the Silley iſlands, probably the Caſſiteris of the Phœnicians and Silura of Solinus, and

Sect. IV. the iſle that I have ſhewn to have once exiſted near the weſtern point of Cornwall, divided from it by a dangerous ſtrait, and ſince broken into a variety of iſlets and rocks [35]. The embarkation was made under the conduct of Larthon, the ſovereign of the Damnonii or the ſubject Caſſiterides [36]. And the Vodiæ, as we ſhall directly perceive, compoſed the firſt colony of the Belgæ in Ireland.

Theſe ſeem to have been immediately followed by the Velaborii, the Lucenii, and the Ibernii; all equally Belgick as the Vodiæ, and with them the only Belgick colonies that appear to have landed on the iſland. The Velaborii, Velaberi, or Veliberi [37] (ſo differently is their name written), were, I ſuppoſe, the Damnonian inhabitants of Voliba or Voluba on the river Vale in Cornwall [38]; Volub-er-ii ſignifying the men of Voluba. And the Lucenii ſeem to have been the Damnonian inhabitants of Cenia in the ſame country [38]; Lucd Cenia importing the people of ſuch a town, and the D (as I have ſhewn) being quieſcent among the Iriſh. The Ibernii were probably derived from the Ibernio of Ravennas and the preſent Beare in Dorſetſhire, and appear accordingly to have had a town denominated Ibernio or Beare in Ireland. And the Vodiæ, therefore, muſt have been the Belgæ that came from the Silley iſland.

Within five or ſix years after theſe ſettlements of the Belgæ in the ſouth, upon the invaſion of the Brigantian territories in the year 51 by Oſtorius, a body of the Brigantes took ſhipping on our weſtern coaſt, and puſhed over to the ſhore of Ireland [39]. And with them

them embarked a party of Cangi or Cangani [39]; the Cangii of our Siſtuntians, as appears plainly from their other appellation of Concangii [40], a name appropriate to the capital town of the Siſtuntian Cangii in Britain, and retained by ſome of its inhabitants on their removal into Ireland. Thus the Britons of Lancaſhire and South-Weſtmoreland, who had already planted a colony upon the eaſtern ſhore of the iſland, now ſettled another on the weſtern. The former coaſt was nearly occupied from end to end. And the Brigantes entered upon the only vacant portion of it. In this ſituation, the Concangii were forced to croſs the central parts of the iſland and the dominions of the Scoti, and ſettle upon the weſtern ſea. And with both, or about the ſame period, came perhaps the Auterii. Sect. IV. P. 442.

About the year 76 probably, when Julius Frontinus ſubdued the Silures and their ſubject Dimetæ, the Menapii landed in Ireland; the Dimetæ in the neighbourhood of Menapia or St. David's paſſing over to the oppoſite coaſt, and erecting another Menapia in the county of Waterford. The Coriondii were in all probability poſſeſſed of the country before, as the Concangii in 51 found the eaſtern ſhore already occupied. And the Menapii probably attacked the inhabitants, diſlodged them from the ſea, and drove them beyond the Slane. There, confined too much by the Barrow on the weſt, they extended themſelves to the north, and ſtretched along the back of the Liffy to the Boyne.

And about 140 probably, certainly before the period of Ptolemy's geography, upon the expedition of Lollius into Caledonia and his great ſucceſſes in Veſpa-

Sect. IV. ſiana, the Venicnii and Hardinii came into Ireland, and ſettled upon the north-weſtern coaſt. The latter were derived, as their name ſuggeſts, from Arden, Harden, or Caledonia [41]. And both were evidently of the ſame kindred, being called together the two Venicnian tribes, and being both ſubject to their one metropolis in the country of the Hardinii.

In this ſtate of the iſland, the Belgæ being confined by the Brigantes on the north-eaſt, the Scoti on the north, and the Cangani and Auterii on the north-weſt; and the only un-occupied part of the coaſt lying directly beyond both the laſt, in Mayo, Sligo, Letrim, Roſcommon, and Fermanagh; their colonies, more populous than the others (as the ſequel of the hiſtory demonſtrates), ſoon began to raiſe commotions in the iſland, and ſeized the large vacant extent of the weſtern ſhore [41]. They muſt therefore have croſſed the Shannon, have entered the country of the Cangani and Auterii, and ſubdued them both. If they had not, they could not have proceeded to the north, and have
P. 443. ſettled, under the abovementioned appellation of Nagnatæ, in the long extent of the abovementioned counties. And, if the other tribes had not ſeen ſome inſtances of the old encroaching ſpirit of the Belgæ in Ireland, ſlow as the Britons ever were to unite in a common cauſe, they would not have combined ſo readily and ſo heartily, as we ſhall ſoon ſee them, againſt the Belgæ.

In this new ſtate of the iſland, the latter poſſeſſed the whole counties of Cork, Kerry, and Limerick, in Munſter; thoſe of Clare, Galway, Mayo, Sligo, and Roſcommon,

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Roſcommon, and the greateſt part of Letrim, in Connaught; and a part of Fermanagh in Ulſter: and the former occupied the reſt of Ulſter, all Leinſter, and a part of Munſter. And the barriers betwixt them were the river of Blackwater, the mountains of Tipperary, the courſe of the Shannon, and the length of Logh Erne. The two nations were now pretty equally oppoſed, the Britons enjoying moſt land, and the Belgæ being moſt populous. And a general war immediately enſued. The ſame chief, who had conducted the new colony acroſs the Shannon, was ſtill the active ſovereign of it [42]. The war commenced, therefore, within a few years after that expedition; and, as Trathal the ſon of Trenmor was then upon the throne of the Creones [43], it begun about the year 160 or 170. And it laſted with many interruptions and various ſucceſs for more than a century.

The Belgæ were much better fitted for war, than the Britons. They were ſubject to one governor, a deſcendant from the original conductor of the Belgæ into Ireland, the hereditary monarch of the Nagnatæ, and the hereditary dictator of the tribes [44]. "The "chiefs of the ſouth gathered round the echoing "ſhield of Crothar, the king of Alnecma, and the "firſt of the race of Bolga [45]." And Alnecma or Nagnata is therefore, in the geography of the cotemporary Ptolemy, diſtinguiſhed above all the towns of Ireland by the peculiar character of ωολις επισημος or the illuſtrious city. The Britons (the Hardinii, the Venicnii, and the Robogdii, pretty certainly) were defeated by the Belgæ; and the country was overrun [46].

Sect. IV. P. 444. They applied for aſſiſtance to Caledonia, the land "of "the race of their fathers [47]." It came, Conar, the ſecond ſon of Trenmor, headed the troops [48], And the invaders were repelled [49].

The advantages of the Belgick form of government had now been experimentally perceived, and an immediate union appeared neceſſary among the diſperſed tribes of the Britons. "The nations gathered in Ullin" or the county of Down [50], and reſolved to appoint a pendragon. And they unanimouſly nominated Conar to the office; a chief nearly allied in all probability to the Venicnian and Robogdian monarchs [51], a hero full of glory for his former as well as late ſucceſſes in war [52], and the only dictator, by whom they might be ſure to derive ſuccours from Caledonia on any future emergency. Conar was inveſted with a military authority over all the tribes of the Britons. And the office was deſcendible to his heirs. The Britons, like the Caledonians before them, were embodied together under the one Celtick appellation of all their nations. And they were alſo incorporated, like them, under the more diſtinguiſhing denomination of their principal tribe. By the former they were called Gathel, Cael, or Gauls, as I have already ſhewn. And by the latter they were entitled Scuite or Scoti, as the progreſs of the hiſtory and the accounts of Bede inform us. Temora, a town in the kingdom of the Eblani, and the preſent Terah in Eaſt-Meath, was made the capital of the confederated tribes. And it is expreſsly denominated by Bede the metropolis of the Scots [53].

Thus

Thus united, they were ſoon attacked by the Belgæ. Sect. IV.
Succeſs attended the invaſion. And the Britons were reduced to great diſtreſs. Conar was obliged to ſolicit aid from Caledonia. It came. The tide of ſucceſs was turned. The Belgæ were defeated. And the country was recovered [54].

Unlucky as theſe expeditions had hitherto been, the aggreſſors were actuated with too encroaching a ſpirit to be long at peace. Conar died ſoon after the laſt expedition. Cormac his ſon ſucceeded him. And he was now aged [55]. The Belgæ marched with a large P. 445.
army into the country of the Britons, conducted by their king Colculla. Cormac in vain reſiſted his efforts. He was greatly diſtreſt. He applied to his ſecond couſin Fingal, the young ſovereign of Morven and pendragon of Caledonia. And Fingal ſent him a body of forces. The auxiliaries and the principals were both defeated by the Belgæ. The young monarch came over in perſon. His army conſiſted only of three hundred men. He was joined by a new one of the Britons. And at the head of both he attacked the victorious Belgæ. They were not able to withſtand him. Colculla was ſlain by the hand of Fingal. And all his army was diſperſed [56].

This blow was a ſevere one to the Belgæ. It damped their enterprizing ſpirit for many years. And the Britons, content to repel the invaders, and the infant weakneſs of many of their tribes requiring the repoſe of peace, carried not the war after them into the Belgick countries. The truce appears to have laſted for the remainder of the reign of Cormac, through the

Sect. IV. whole reigns of Cairbre and Artho, his ſucceſſors [57], and for ſome time during the minority of Cormac the ſecond, the ſon of Artho. But, recovered by ſo long a peace and actuated by their former ſpirit, the Belgæ made another effort about the year 260. It was their laſt. It was a bloody one. It decided the fate of the iſland.

The Belgæ, under the conduct of Torlath, advanced into the Britiſh territories. Cuchullin met them with the Britons. They fought. And Torlath and Cuchullin were killed. But the Belgæ were routed [58]. They advanced with another army. And it was ſurprized by the Britons in the night, and defeated [59]. They raiſed a third, and made a forced march with it to Temora in Eaſt-Meath, in order to ſurprize the capital. The Britiſh army marched with great expedition to prevent it. It came too late. The Belgæ had ſurprized the town, ſeized the monarch, and put him to death [60]. It was overwhelmed with aſtoniſhment at the event. And it immediately diſperſed [61]. The Belgæ everywhere recovered themſelves, took advantage of the confuſion, and, under the command of
P. 446. their king Cairbar and his brother Cathmor, made themſelves maſters of the whole country [62].

In this exigence the Caledonian monarch, now advanced in years, came over again. And with him returned ſucceſs. Cairbar lay with his army upon the coaſt, to prevent his landing. The forces were routed, and Cairbar killed. Cathmor marched up, and attacked the victorious troops. And Cathmor and all his army fell [63].

In

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In this defeat, the royal line of Larthon ſeems to have been deſtroyed. The Belgæ would naturally be thrown into confuſion, and the Britons as naturally take advantage of it. The former, weakened by many defeats, and moſt probably without a monarch, would be now attacked by the Britons, fluſhed with victory, united under one head, Ferad-artho [64], and taught by ſad experience to proſecute an offenſive war. And, in theſe circumſtances, they would certainly be reduced by the Britons. So they very probably were at this period. And ſo they undoubtedly were within fifty or ſixty years after it. In 320, no longer requiring aſſiſtance from the Caledonians, the Britons ſent a body of their iſlanders into Caledonia, and even fixed a conſiderable colony within it [65].

This great revolution, in the internal condition of Ireland, would give it a new name and figure in Europe. It would naturally aſſume a greater importance, as it was now for the firſt time united under one head. And it would as naturally adopt the appellation which the confederated Britons had previouſly borne, and which the victors always communicated to the vanquiſhed. Thus, together with the Britiſh tribes, and among ſome barbarous nations on the ocean, we find the Scoticæ gentes enumerated by Porphyry about the year 270 [66]. We ſee the Scoti or Iriſh fixing a ſettlement upon the weſtern coaſt of Caledonia in 320 [67], and ravaging the Roman provinces from it about 340 [68]. And we find the whole number of the Iriſh tribes denoted by the appellation of Scoti, before the concluſion of the fourth century [69].

The

Sect. IV. P. 447. The first entrance of the Scots into Britain was in the year 320; and a considerable body of them then settled in Caledonia [70], in the country of the Deucaledones and the dominions of the Creones [71]. And they came not upon any hostile expedition. This the great connexion that had subsisted betwixt the Scots and Creones, the frequent reinforcements that had been sent by the latter to the former, and the near alliance of the Scottish and Creonian monarchs, must have effectually forbidden. And they came not merely upon an invitation from the Caledonians, and only with a design to engage in the wars with them. Had they landed for this end only, they would have regularly lent their assistance, and never have received any settlements. They therefore crossed the sea for another purpose. And it was in all probability this. The kings of Ireland being equally with the sovereigns of the Creones descended from Trenmor, and his elder line failing in Ossian, "the last of the "race of Fingal [72];" the crown of the Creones devolved to the younger, the family of Conar, and the monarchs of Ireland. Ossian lived long after the rest of the family, long after Fingal had "fallen asleep "with his race of battle;" as he had seen a new generation arise, that "marked no years with their deeds [73]." He died therefore in an advanced old age, and about the year 320. The monarch of Ireland would immediately take possession of the kingdom, and naturally give it as an appenage to one of his sons. Fergus was accordingly sent with a body of troops and the authority of a sovereign [74]. And he landed, took possession of the crown, and settled his Scots in the country [74].

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Thus fixed in Caledonia agreeably to the laws of the kingdom and with the full conſent of the natives, the Scots readily joined the Picts in their incurſions into the Roman provinces. In 340 the Picts in general, and the Scots confederated with them, harraſſed Valentia with perpetual inroads [75]. And thus they continued to act regularly afterwards, jointly croſſing the Cluyd in their curroghs, jointly over-running Valentia and penetrating into Maxima, and beginning the great æra of calamities, which appears ſo ſadly conſpicuous in the ſucceeding hiſtory of Roman Britain, Lancaſhire, and Mancheſter.

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[1] Richard p. 43. and Ptolomy.—[2] Richard's Map.—[3] Richard's map. This ſhews the Iſamnum Promontorium and the Vinderius flu. to have been tranſpoſed in Ptolemy.—[4] Eblana muſt have been alſo ſpoken D-Eblana, as we have Avon and D-Avon for the ſame appellation; and Eb-lan or Deb-lan ſignifies the fortreſs on the water.—[5] Richard and Ptolemy for Modona and Menapia, and the biographers of Saint Patrick for Slanus.—[6] Richard's map.—[7] Richard's map, O Halloran's Introd. to the Hiſt. and Ant. of Ireland, p. 37, and Harris's Ware p. 41.—[8] Ptolemy.—[9] Ptolemy and Richard's map.—[10] Richard's map.—Ptolemy calls them Erdinii.—[11] Richard's map and Ptolemy.—[12] Offian vol. II. p. 36.—[13] Richard's map of Ireland has ſome inaccuracies in it, And Dr. Stukeley's copy has more. —The river Buvinda, which is given in Richard's deſcription to the Voluntii, and muſt have been their ſouthern

Sect. IV. ern boundary, is given in his map to the Eblani; and theſe are planted to the north as well as ſouth of it. The ſouthern border of the Eblani, which aſſuredly ran along the Liffy, is carried below it. The ſouthern border of the Caucii, which was certainly along the Oboca, is alſo carried below it. The Coriondii are placed too far to the weſt. The Menapii are carried to the Barrow. The Brigantes are puſhed beyond it. And the Scoti, who ſhould be all to the eaſt of the Shannon, are all placed to the weſt of it. — Dr. Stukeley has copied moſt of theſe miſtakes, and added others. He has ſuffered the names to be disfigured by the negligence of the engraver, Vodiæ being changed into Vocliæ, Sena into Lena, Argita into Argela, Darabona into Danæbona, &c. He has omitted ſeveral names
P. 449. and places; of the former, the Libnius, Nagnata, and Robogdium; and, of the latter, the Vodium Promontorium, Beniſamnium Promontorium, and Inſula Venicnia. And the Voluntii are brought down only to the river Deva, the Eblani are fixed in all the country betwixt the Deva and Buvinda, and the Rhebius Lacus is carried too far to the north of the Magnus Sinus.—
[14] Richard p. 50. A. M. 3650. — [15] P. 42. Richard, Certiſſimum eſt Damnios, Voluntios, Brigantes, Cangos, aliaſque nationes, origine fuiſſe Britannicâ, quæ eò poſtea [poſt Scotos] trajecerunt.—[16] Iwerddon is the name of Ireland among the Welſh at preſent, Iuer Ton or the weſtern country. — [17] Richard p. 42, Quæ eò — trajecerunt poſtquam Divitiacus — vel duces alii victores illis domi tumultum fecerant; and p. 50, Circa hæc tempora.—[18] Richard p. 50, In Hiberniam commigrarunt ejecti

ejecti a Belgis Britones, ibique ſedes poſuerunt, ex illo tempore Scotti appellati; and Macpherſon in Oſſian vol. I. p. 130. and vol. II. Preface p. v. — [19] Agric. Vit. c. 24. A legion and a tolerable number of auxiliaries were then juſtly deemed ſufficient to reduce the iſland, ſo thinly was the country inhabited, ſo much were moſt of the colonies in their infancy, and ſo little were they united together.—[20] P. 42, Certiſſimum eſt Damnios, Voluntios, Brigantes, Cangos, aliaſque nationes origine fuiſſe Britannicâ, quæ eò poſtea [poſt Scotos] trajecerunt, poſtquam vel Divitiacus, vel Claudius, vel Oſtorius, vel duces alii victores illis domi tumultum fecerant; and p. 45, Non poſſum non in hoc loco monere, Damnios, Voluntios, Brigantes, & Cangianos, omnes fuiſſe Britannicæ originis nationes, quæ, cùm vel ab hoſte finitimo non daretur quies, vel tot tantaque exigerentur tributa quibus ſolvendis ſe impares intelligerent,—in hanc terram trajecerunt.—[21] Richard p. 44, Mediolanum. — [22] Diodorus p. 355. And ſee Camden c. 1314. — [23] So Caractacus is called by the Welſh Caradoc and Caradauc, and a river in Somerſetſhire Thone and Taun. So Cadwallon or Cadwallaun, Maur or Mor, Great, and a hundred others. Thus alſo, in Lancaſhire particularly, one river is popularly called and written Laun or Lon, and our own Tame both Taum and Tom. — [24] The Carnabii are more ſtrangely denominated Cornini by Ravennas.—[25] Oſſian vol. I. p. 5. An iſlet in the lake of Killarney is ſtill called Iniſe-Fallin, as we have Beg-eri or Little Ireland, an iſlet in the county of Wexford.—[26] Mona p. 305.—[27] P. 302. ibid. — And ſee Sax. Chron. p. 11 and 12,

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Sect. IV. and Adamnan's life of Columba l. ii. c. 34. in Colgan's Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ, vol. II. p. 358, and a note vol. II. p. 384. — [28] P. 14. — [29] Camden c. 808. and Mona p. 27. — [30] Offian vol. I. p. 3, 7, 148, vol. II. p. 72, and Crit. Diſſ. p. 97. And ſee Nennius c. 8, Guiher Cet Guely, or Caer Kidwelly. And the ſame eliſion ran through all the Celtick, as in the Gallick Rhodanus or Rhone, the Gallick Matrona or Marne, &c.; and continued in the Saxon and to this day remains in the Engliſh, as in Ethelward pronounced Elward, Clothes Clo's, Them 'Em, Boatſwain Boſon, North and South Nor and Sou, Northwood Norwood, Southwold-bay Solebay, &c. &c. — [31] In an addreſs of Valerius Flaccus to Veſpaſian, he ſays thus,

Tuque o pelagi cui major aperti
Fama, *Caledonius* poſtquam tua carbaſa vexit
Oceanus, Phrygios priùs indignatus Iulos.

Here we ſee the word, *Caledonius*, applied even to the Britiſh Channel, to the ſea which is ſaid to have diſdained the yoke of Cæſar by deſtroying his veſſels. And, even at the death of Veſpaſian, the Romans had not yet entered the real Caledonia at all. And in The Genuine Hiſt. of the Britons I have produced another inſtance exactly correſpondent to this, which ſhews the coaſt adjoining to this ſea, and the very ſhore at which Cæſar's navy was deſtroyed, to have been called Caledonia as early even as the reign of Nero. See p. 124. — [32] Suetonius p. 240, Oxon. He ſpeaks of them only as two ſtates. And Richard does the ſame, calling all the ſouthern tribes from Kent or Suſſex (p. 18) to the Land's-End by the two appellations of the Belgæ and Dam-

Damnonii (p. 17).—[33] Richard p. 42, Claudius.—[34] Offian vol. II. p. 129 and 131, and vol. II. p. 143 and 145.—[35] Ch. xi. ſ. 2.—[36] Offian p. 131 vol. II.—[37] Richard and Ptolemy.—[38] Richard Iter 16.—[39] Richard p. 51, A. M. 4050, circa hæc tempora, relictâ Britanniâ, Cangi & Brigantes in Hiberniam commigrarunt, ſedeſque ibi poſuerunt; and p. 42, Oſtorius.—[40] Richard p. 43.—[41] Ardven or Arden was the name of the ſea-coaſt of Weſtern Caledonia, from the upper end of Lochaber or the preſent Morvain, Fingal's reſidence, quite to the Friths and the Wall (ſee Offian vol. I. p. 95 and 96); if it did not include, which I ſuſpect it did, the whole peninſula of Caledonia.—Offian vol. II. p. 36.—[42] Ibid.—[43] P. 30.—[44] P. 130 and 36.—[45] P. 36 and 37.—[46] P. 37 and 38.—[47] P. 38 and 31.—[48] Ibid.—[49] P. 38.—[50] P. 31, and Harris's Ware's Ant. p. 44.—[51] Offian ibid., "The king of the race of "their fathers."—[52] P. 30.—[53] Themoria, civitas ubi etiam *tunc* regni Scotorum erat caput, S. Patricii Vita, p. 316. tom iii. in Bedæ Opera omnia, Baſil. 1563; and Waræi Ant. Hib. London 1564. c. 22. p. 95.—[54] Offian vol. I. p. 31 and 32.—[55] Vol. II. p. 58 and 66.—[56] Vol. II. p. 58, 59, 66, 67, and 68.—[57] Vol. II. p. 18 and 141.—[58] Vol. I. p. 151, &c.—[59] P. 166.—[60] Vol. II. p. 21 and 22, and Themoria civitas ubi etiam *tunc* regni Scotorum erat caput (Patricii Vita p. 316).—[61] Vol. I. p. 166.—[62] P. 166. vol. I. &c.—[63] Vol. II. p. 6—15 and p. 23 and 149.—[64] Vol. II. p. 155. He was the ſecond ſon of Cairbar (p. 141. vol. II), and uncle to the lately murdered Cormac.—[65] Richard p. 53, A. M. 4320, ductu regis Ferguſſii in Britan-

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Sect. IV. Britanniam tranſeunt Scotti, ibique ſedem figunt.—[66] Jerom in Epiſt. ad Cteſiphontem. —[67] Richard p. 53. —[68] A. Marcellinus lib. xxvii. c. 8, and Genuine Hiſt. of the Britons p. 170—171. —[69] Ware's Patricii Opuſcula (London 1656) p. 16; Claudian de laud. Stil. l. ii. p. 140. Elzevir 1677, Totam cum movit Iernem Scotus;
P. 451. and Patricii Vita p. 316. And in Bede's Hiſt. lib. iii. c. 3. we find the Belgæ of the ſouth expreſsly denominated Scots.—[70] Richard p. 53, and Bede's Hiſt. lib. i. c. 1.—[71] Gildas c. 11, Scoti a Circio, and c. 15, Trans Tithicam vallem vecti—Scotorum Pictorumque greges, and Bede l. i. c. 1. The words Tithica vallis in Gildas, which have been ſo ſtrangely twiſted and interpreted, are nothing more than one of Gildas's wild and poetically manufactured expreſſions, Tethica vallis or the abyſs of the ſea.—[72] Oſſian vol. I. p. 236. See alſo p. 48 and 59.—[73] P. 48 and 71, 59, 81, 236, 260 and 267, vol. I.; and p. 203 vol. II.—Fingal, by the tradition of Ireland, died in 283. —[74] Richard p. 53.—[75] Ammianus lib. xxvii. c. 8, &c.

M E M.

For a ſtill fuller elucidation of this portion of hiſtory, ſee the Genuine Hiſtory of the Britons aſſerted againſt Mr. Macpherſon, written ſince the firſt edition, and confirming and improving the notices here delivered.

V. THE

V.

THE provinces being thus vigorouſly aſſailed upon the north and eaſt; and the tenth, the ſeventh, and the twentieth legions probably tranſported out of the iſland about the ſame period, as I have ſhewn the laſt of them to have been reſident among us to the middle nearly of the fourth century [1]; the remaining troops were only the ſixth Victorious and the ſecond Auguſtan legions, and a body of auxiliaries. This, however, was more than the regular number belonging to two legions. And it was nearly the whole for four. As the auxiliary cavalry was double in number to the legionary, as the latter was ſomewhat more than ſeven hundred men to each legion, and the former was thrown into alæ or independent troops of four or five hundred [2]; ſix alæ would be the complement of auxiliary horſe for a couple of legions. But the Notitia expreſsly mentions eleven bodies of cavalry in the iſland, five of them ſpecified as alæ, and the other ſix forming, like them, as many P. 452. diſtinct garriſons, and being therefore in all probability nearly equal to them in number. And though, as I have formerly ſhewn [3], ſixteen cohorts made up the complement of auxiliary foot for a couple of legions, the Notitia enumerates ſeventeen; and mentions, beſides, ſixteen auxiliary numeri or bodies, that, like them, formed as many garriſons, and were nearly equal to them in all probability. The number of auxiliary horſe coincides pretty nearly with that of auxiliary foot; and

Sect. V. both together compoſe almoſt the whole complement of auxiliaries for four legions. And the total amount of the forces in Britain, at this period, was probably about twelve thouſand legionary foot and twenty-four thouſand auxiliary, and one thouſand four hundred legionary and five thouſand auxiliary horſe; or thirty-ſix thouſand infantry, and ſix or ſeven thouſand cavalry.

Theſe, as I have previouſly ſhewn [4], were totally inſufficient of themſelves to garriſon the various ſtations of the iſland. And it was never intended that they ſhould. A conſiderable change muſt have been deſigned in the diſpoſition of the forces. And a new appearance was given to the military aſpect of the country. The troops were no longer diſpoſed in long lines of forts, and ranged acroſs the iſland in every direction. The Romans ordered almoſt all their men from their camps, and quartered them upon the northern and eaſtern frontiers [5]. And the interiour parts of the country no longer required any garriſons, ſecured from the fear of inſurrections by the legionary citizens in the colonies, and by the Romanized diſpoſition of the Britons.

This change in the arrangemement of the forces ſeems to have happened in the year 394. The Scottiſh invaſion of Roman Britain, which ſhall be deſcribed immediately, was probably occaſioned by it. That was made in 395, as I ſhall ſoon endeavour to ſhew. And one winter was ſufficient, and one requiſite, to raiſe the large army which the Scots collected for the expedition. In 394, therefore, the Romans

mans broke up the regular lines of their encampments, deſerted nearly all the forts in the center of the iſland and on the weſtern coaſt, and filed off to the eaſtern ſhore and the northern wall. And in that year, conſequently, they put an end to their long-continued encampment in the Caſtle-field, and on the ſite of the church and college, at Mancheſter; the firſt cohort of the Friſini, Friſiaci, or Frixagi marching away into the north [6], and finally leaving us juſt three hundred and fifteen years from the erection of Mancheſter in the field of Aldport, about four hundred and fifty from its conſtruction upon Caſtle-field, and about nine hundred from the firſt entrance of a colony into the pariſh and the county.

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As the Romans previouſly carried their arms into the mediterranean parts of the iſland, they ſecured their conqueſts by a range of forts upon their northern border; to cut off the communication betwixt the conquered and unconquered Britons, and prevent any invaſion of the country by the latter. Thus Oſtorius, as Tacitus informs us, carried a regular chain of camps along the Severn and the Upper Avon, the Avon of Glouceſterſhire, Warwickſhire, and Northamptonſhire, and the genuine and long-loſt Antona of that hiſtorian; and afterwards continued it, as fact ſeems plainly to ſhew us, along the Nen of Northamptonſhire to the marſhes of the eaſtern coaſt [7]. A ſecond ſeries was alſo drawn from the Eden to the Tyne, before the reign of Hadrian [8]. And a third was conſtructed by Agricola betwixt the friths of Forth and Cluyd [9]. Theſe the Romans laid out at their firſt reduction of the country.

Sect. V. And they regularly continued them afterwards, on their peaceable ſettlement in the provinces. But as the Caledonians, in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, had over-run Valentia and penetrated into Maxima [10], pretty certainly avoiding the frequent forts in the narrow iſthmus betwixt the friths, by croſſing the Kelvin from the country of the Attacotti below Bemulie, and afterwards paſſing betwixt the fewer forts on the wider iſthmus of Cumberland and Northumberland; Hadrian connected the latter by a regular wall of turf [11]. And the Britons again paſſing the forts betwixt the friths in the reign of Antoninus Pius [12], and invading the land of the Novantes [13]; Lollius united the former by another, and carried the wall and the forts into the country of the Attacotti, and nearly up to their capital [14]. Hadrian meant not by the one erection to reſign the province of Valentia to the Caledonians, any more than Severus meant it by rebuilding the wall of ſtone [15], when he was juſt returning from or advancing to the intended ſubjection of all Caledonia. And Hadrian deſigned not to cede Valentia to the enemy, any more than Lollius deſigned to cede the conqueſts of Agricola in the country of the Horeſtii, when he was even preparing to reduce all the Caledonians, and had actually reduced the Attacotti. The walls were erected to continue the chain unbroken from fort to fort, and preclude the Caledonians from ſlipping by the forts and ravaging the country. They could no longer paſs by the ſtations on the friths and rivers. And, if they even croſſed the former in their veſſels, they were liable to be attacked by the troops from the country, and were

P. 454.

effectually

effectually restrained in their progress by the wall betwixt the rivers. Valentia was constantly retained in the power of the Romans; the kingdom of the Novantes being subject to them at the period of the invasion, and betwixt the construction of Hadrian's and the erection of Antoninus's rampart [16]. And the whole province remained under their dominion to the days of Severus [17], the reign of Constantine [18], and the final secession of the Romans from the island [19]. Sect. V.

But now, when they collected their forces to the northern and eastern border, and even many years before this period, in that of Antonine's Itinerary; they appear not to have made the farther wall the principal barrier of the country, and to have lined it particularly with troops. The ready passage and customary conveyance of the Picts and Scots across the frith of Cluyd into the province [20], rendered any large garrison superfluous. One, however, was constantly kept there [21]. In the time of Antonine's Itinerary, and in that of the Notitia, the Romans must still have maintained a garrison at the wall, as they still retained the province of Valentia. And, in both, the Caledonians appear to have not seized at all, as they certainly would if there had been no garrison there, even the northern and more neighbouring parts of the region. They appear only to have infested it with their former inroads, crossing the Cluyd, and ravaging the country [22]. And they first took possession even of the more northerly parts of it, only at the final departure of the Romans from the island [23]. P. 455.

Sect. V. If we examine the Itinerary of Antonine and the accounts of the Notitia, unbiaſſed by the determinations of our preſent antiquarians, and attentive only to the obvious import of the notices; we ſhall find this reaſoning confirmed by the one, and illuſtrated by the other.

The firſt Iter of Antonine bears this title prefixed to it, *A Limite i. e. A vallo* Prætorium uſque; and afterwards enumerates theſe towns,

A Bremenio
Corſtopitum.—

This, therefore, begins from one of the walls: and the early nomination of Bremenium proves it to begin from that of Antoninus, the great Limes or boundary of Roman Britain. And Bremenium is demonſtrated by an inſcription [24] to be the preſent Riecheſter in Northumberland, about eighteen miles to the
P. 456. north of Severus's rampart. The ſecond Iter of Antonine exhibits this title and theſe names,

A Vallo ad Portum Ritupas,
A Blato Bulgio
Caſtra Exploratorum m. p. 12.
Luguvallio m. p. 12.

This, therefore, commences equally from one of the walls, and, as the mention afterwards of Luguvallium demonſtrates, equally from that of Antoninus. And Luguvallium was certainly at the rampart of Severus, and in the fifth Iter is actually denominated Luguvallium Ad Vallum. Thus plainly are two Itinera of Antonine ſhewn to begin from the more northerly rampart, and to traverſe the whole province of Valentia. And thus

thus clearly do the Romans appear to have garriſoned the walls betwixt the friths, even as late as the reign of Conſtantine and in a part of the fourth century. Sect. V.

But the Notitia is ſtill more particular. It not only points out the continuance of the Roman ſoldiers at the northern fence. It ſpecifies the number of forts that were garriſoned at it. And it gives us a liſt of the forces that were quartered in them. Twenty-three ſtations are placed by the Notitia *per lineam Valli*. And the firſt eighteen of theſe are demonſtrated by Mr. Horſeley, to range along the line of the ſouthern wall [25]. Theſe eighteen compoſe the whole length of that extended chain of forts, which ſecured the rampart of Severus [26]. And where then ſhall we ſettle the other five? We act in full contradiction to the declaration of the Notitia, if with Mr. Horſeley we transfer them from the line of the wall, and plant them at a diſtance from it. They are declared as expreſsly as the others to be per lineam Valli. Demonſtration ſhews them not to have been placed along the ſouthern wall. And Prejudice therefore muſt acknowledge them to have been along the northern.

But there is one very remarkable circumſtance in the two above mentioned Itinera of Antonine, which has never been obſerved by the criticks. One of them begins thus,

A Limite i. e. A Vallo Prætorium uſq; P. 457.

A BREMENIO

Corſtopitum m. p. 20;

And the other thus,

A Vallo ad Portum Ritupas,

A BLATO BULGIO

Caſtra Exploratorum m. p. 12.

Sect. V. Only theſe Itinera begin in this extraordinary manner. And this alone pretty evidently points out, that ſome ſtation or ſtations have been omitted in the copies, before A Bramenio in the one and A Blato Bulgio in the other. Had not this been the caſe, the commencing point would have been the wall in both, and Bremenium or Blatum Bulgium could have ranked only as an intermediate ſtation in either. And this is proved to be true by the Itinerary of Richard. We have the very ſame route deſcribed by his fifth Iter, as is traced by the firſt of Antonine. And the ſtations, that are forgotten in the latter, are enumerated in the former.

Antonine's 1ſt.			Richard's 5th.	
A Limite i. e. A Vallo Prætorium uſq;—m. p. 156.			A Limite Præturiam uſq; ſic,	
A Bremenio.			Curia m. p.	
			Ad Fines m. p. . . .	
			Bremenio m. p. . . .	
Corſtopitum m. p.	20		Corſtoplio	20
Vindomora m. p.	9		Vindomora	9
Vinovia m. p.	19		Vindovio	19
Catarractoni m. p.	22		Catarractoni	22
Iſurium m. p.	24	41	Eboraco	40
Eburacum m. p.	17			
Derventione m. p.	7		Derventione	7
Delgovitia m. p.	13		Delgovicia	13
Prætorio m. p.	25		Præturio	25.

P. 458. Thus was a Roman garriſon continued at the wall of Antoninus, to the final departure of the Romans from the iſland. The number of troops, however, which

was

Sect. V.

was ſtationed at it, was very inconſiderable for the reaſons which I have already ſuggeſted. The only forts that were garriſoned at all were five, Glannibanta, Alione, Bremetenracum, Olenacum, and Viroſidum [27]. And the forces, that were lodged in them, were only four cohorts and a body of cuiraſſiers [28]. The ſtations were pretty certainly the five, which ſtill appear more conſiderable than the reſt betwixt the friths; New Kirkpatrick, Bemulie, Barhill, Caſtle-cary, and Rough-caſtle. The firſt is deſcribed as a very large fort, the ſecond as a prodigious one, the third as very large and well preſerved, the fourth as magnificent and beſt preſerved of any, and the fifth as vaſt, magnificent, and entire [29]. And, ſince the eighteen upon Severus's wall are certainly enumerated from eaſt to weſt [30], the remaining five along Antoninus's are probably reckoned in the ſame direction; and Glannibanta is Rough-caſtle, Alione Caſtle-cary, Bremetenracum Barhill, Olenacum Bemulie, and Viroſidum New Kirkpatrick [31].

But the main body of the troops was now ſtationed along the line of Severus's wall, and the eaſtern and ſouth-eaſtern coaſt. The latter was guarded by ten ſtations, reaching from Yorkſhire into Suſſex [32]. The former was raiſed eight Roman feet in thickneſs and twelve in height, was ſtrengthened with various turrets, and ſecured by eighteen forts [33]. And in one of theſe, Vindobala or Rutcheſter, the old garriſon of our Caſtle-field, and the firſt cohort of the Frieſlanders, was now ſettled by the Romans [34].

This grand alteration, in the number and diſpoſition of the Roman troops within the iſland, was pretty certainly

Sect. V. tainly the cauſe of that great invaſion, which was made at this period from Ireland. The firſt deſcent upon the provinces, which had been attempted from that country with a view of conqueſt, it muſt have reſulted from ſome particular circumſtances in the interiour condition of Britain, and ſome very inviting
P. 459. change in the ſtate of our weſtern coaſt. And nothing leſs could have been the cauſe of ſo remarkable an invaſion, I think, than the equally remarkable revolution in the internal hiſtory of Britain, the general deſertion of the ſtationary lines, and the retirement of the troops from the weſtern counties. By the new arrangement of the forces, the whole extent of the iſland, from the ſouth of Weſtmoreland to the ſhore of Cornwall, was left expoſed and defenceleſs [35]. Had the Iriſh invaded the weſtern coaſt with any conſiderable armament before, the Romans would have left ſome forces encamped upon it at preſent. And therefore, if the latter had not withdrawn all the ſtationary garriſons from the coaſt, the former would not have invaded it with ſo conſiderable a one now. But, apprized of the new military arrangements, and ſtimulated with the inviting proſpect of conqueſt [36], they reſolved upon an expedition, againſt the whole weſtern ſhore of England.

This was executed in the year 395. It was made and repelled after the death of Theodoſius in the January of that year, and during the minority of Honorius and the regency of Stilicho [37]. And it was equally made and repelled a hundred and forty-ſix years before Maelgun Guinedh began to reign over the Ordovices;

Ordovices [38]; and the commencement of his reign was before the death of Arthur and 542 [39]. The former date reduces the fact to the year 395, or ſome immediately ſucceeding one. And the latter carries it back to that year in particular, the commencement of Maelgun's reign being to be reckoned from 541 at the loweſt, and the deduction of a hundred and forty-ſix from this number leaving us preciſely three hundred and ninety-five. Sect. V.

Neil Na-Gaillac was now monarch of the Iriſh [40], the Neal or chief of the Gaelick or Gauls [41]. And he raiſed the whole united power of the iſland, and embarked them upon his ſmall craft [42]. The Britiſh ſea-boats were furniſhed with maſts and ſails. But they were frequently worked by the hand, the rowers ſinging to the chime of their oars and the muſick of the harp [43]. And the admiral's ſhip carried a ſhield upon the maſt, which was a ſufficient mark of itſelf in the day, and was frequently beat upon as a ſignal in the night; the whole fleet ſteering by the ſtars, and the boats being drawn upon the beach at landing [44]. Thus equipped, the Iriſh ranged with their numerous navy along the coaſt of Lancaſhire, landed in the Iſle of Man, and reduced it [45]. They made a deſcent upon North-Wales, and ſubdued a conſiderable portion of the country. They diſembarked a body of their troops in the dominions of the Dimetæ, and conquered the greateſt part of them [46]. And they afterwards extended their arms to the ſouthern channel [47]. This unexpected invaſion, however, was ſoon afterwards repelled. P. 460.

Sect. V. pelled. As, in ſo critical a period, the troops of the eaſt and north could not be ordered away to the weſtern ſhore, other forces were ſent over by Stilicho [48], and joined by a large body of the provincials, legionary citizens and original Britons without doubt, under the command of Cunedag the monarch of the Ottadini [49]. And the Scots were attacked, defeated, and driven to their ſhips, with ſo great a carnage, that they never afterwards attempted any deſcents of conqueſt upon our weſtern coaſt [50].

But the period was now arrived, that the Roman empire, having done the great work for which it was erected by Providence, having long connected the central nations of the globe with a chain of amity, was to be demoliſhed for ever; that HE, who had already converted to the Chriſtian faith all the nations which lay within the pale of the Roman empire, deſigned to bring the uncivilized tribes of Europe into the one, in order to proſelyte them to the other; and that the miſeries, which had been ſo wantonly ſcattered over half the world by the Romans, were to be ſeverely retorted upon them. God ſummoned the ſavage nations of the north, to come and eraze the mighty ſtructure of their empire, and avenge the injuries of the
P. 461. nations around them. The Roman legionaries, once the invincible of the earth, now retired on every ſide towards the heart of the empire. And Rome, once the tyrant of the world, daily ſhrunk into herſelf; contracting the dimenſions of her territories, and loſing the formidableneſs of her name. In this awful criſis the

Roman

Roman ſoldiers finally deſerted the iſland of Britain, in the year of the Chriſtian æra 446[51]; five hundred and one years after their firſt deſcent upon the iſland, four hundred and three after their ſettlement in the country, and three hundred and ſixty-ſeven after their entrance into Lancaſhire. Sect. V.

[1] S. 1. — [2] See b. I. ch. ii. ſ. 2. and ch. vi. ſ. 4. — [3] Ch. ii. ſ. 2. — [4] Chap. vi. ſ. 4. — [5] Notitia. — [6] Ibid. So the Saxons were denominated Saſenach and Saxenach by the Iriſh, and the Siſtuntii called Siſtuntiaci, the Britanni Britannici, and the Pœni Punici. — [7] Tacitus Ann. lib. xii. c. 31, and Richard's Iter 14, Sariconio 11, Glebon 15, *Ad Antonam* 15, Alauna 15. This ſerves to fix the Antona of Tacitus deciſively, Glouceſter on one ſide and Alceſter on the other ſettling Ad Antonam about Eveſham or Bengeworth, and on the Upper Avon. And Gale's Eſſay in Leland's Itin. v. VI. p. 143, 1769, ſerves to ſhew, that additional links were made to the chain, to continue it along the Nen to the marſhes. By this ſcheme, the paſſage in Tacitus is now for the firſt time interpreted literally, and hiſtory and fact are reconciled together. — [8] Horſeley p. 98, compared with p. 158. — [9] Agric. Vit. c. 23. — [10] Tacitus Hiſt. lib. i. c. 2, Perdomita *Britannia* & *ſtatim* amiſſa; Spartian c. 5. of Hadrian, Britanni teneri ſub Romanâ ditione non poterant &c.; and Richard p. 59, Sub quo [Trebellio] duæ provinciæ, Veſpaſiana ſcilicet & Mæata [or Valentia p. 28], fractæ ſunt,—*Circa idem*

Sect. V. *tempus* inſulam hancce viſitans Hadrianus &c.—[11] The forts betwixt the Friths have been twice as cloſe as thoſe along the wall of Severus (Horſeley p. 173); and Spartian c. 11, Primus. — [12] Απεξεμεξο δε και των εν Βριξαννια Βριξανων ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΛΗΝ, οι ΕΠΕΣΒΑΙΝΕΙΝ και ξοι συν τοις οπλοις ηρξαν την Γενδνιαν μοιραν, υπηκοος Ρωμαιων (Pauſanias Arcad. lib. viii. p. 689, Lipſiæ 1696). Theſe words have been applied to the Brigantes of Maxima by Mr. Horſeley, Mr. Camden, &c., and to the Selgovæ and others of Valentia by Mr. Carte; but can ſuit neither of them. The Brigantes of Maxima had had all their land conquered before. And the
P. 462. Brigantes of Valentia had either had all theirs before, or had it now. The Brigantes of Caledonia, alone, ſuffered a diminution of their territories at this period. And they loſt *την πολλην*, the whole of Veſpaſiana, in conſequence of their invaſion of Valentia. And accordingly Lollius is declared by Richard to have recovered Valentia from the Britons (p. 59).—[13] See Carte p. 140, the only perſon that ſettled Genounia right. So on one of Cunobeline's coins, Pegge 4—2, we have Novanei for Novantes, and in Ptolemy Trinoantes for Trinovantes. Nou, a New-comer, makes Nou-en, Nou-an, or Nou-ant in the plural. — [14] Capitolinus c. 5. of Antoninus Pius. — [15] Spartian in Severus c. 22.—[16] So alſo Netherby in Valentia was certainly a Roman ſtation during the reign of Hadrian (Horſeley p. 271).—[17] Herodian lib. iii. c. 48, Χωμαξα. — [18] Antonini Iter 1, and Richard p. 53. — [19] Notitia reckons Valentia as one of the five provinces, that were

were then ſubject to the Vicar of Britain; and Gildas c. 15, Murotenus. —[20] Gildas c. 13 and 15. —[21] See Oſſian v. I. p. 95, where Oſcar engages with Caros "king of ſhips" at the wall of Antoninus. And this Caros is ſuppoſed by Mr. Macpherſon, and from him by Dr. Henry in his new Hiſtory of Great Britain v.I. 4to 1771, p. 425—426, to be the famous Carauſius. But how could Oſcar attack Carauſius in 287, or rather in 290; and Fingal, who oppoſed Caracalla in 211, be afterwards able to fight Cathmor (vol. II. p. 8, &c.)? Fingal muſt have been then near a hundred years of age. As Oſcar died young, he was probably about twenty at the period of this attack; and, if we allow his father to be twenty at the birth of him, we come to the year 260 or thereabouts.—[22] Gildas c. 11, 13, and 15. Gildas begins theſe ravages from 383 or the paſſage of Maximus into Gaul.—[23] Gildas c. 15. —[24] Horſeley N° 95. of Northumberland.—[25] B. I. ch. vii and ix. —[26] Ch. vii. —[27] Notitia.—[28] Ibid.—[29] Gordon's Itin. Septen. 53, 54, 57, and 59, and Horſeley p. 169 and 198 and 170.—[30] Horſeley p. 110.—[31] If the Glannoventa of Antoninus (Iter 10) be not different from the Glannibanta of the Notitia, as the Alone of the one (Iter 10) is evinced, by its diſtance of thirty Itinerary miles from Glannoventa, to be very different from the Alione of the other; the tenth Iter of Antonine would iſſue from the eaſtern end of the wall, as the firſt of Antonine and the fifth of Richard commence from the weſtern, and is probably as much maimed at the beginning as the firſt. This

Sect. V.

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Sect. V. This route would carry the road in a ſtraight direction from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, and not in ſo ſtrange a courſe as Mr. Horſeley has given it; firſt tending to the north-weſt to Old Town, then turning nearly weſt to Whitley Caſtle, and then, and not before, proceeding to the ſouth-weſt. And this would carry it (I apprehend) nearly by Peebles to Appleby, leaving Whitley-Caſtle a little diſtant on the left, and pointing directly into Lancaſhire and Cheſhire. — [32] Notitia. — [33] Richard p. 28, and Notitia.—See Bede Hiſt. lib. i. c. 12.—[34] Notitia, and Horſeley p. 105. Some of the thirteen interiour ſtations were moſt probably in Valentia.—[35] Notitia.—[36] Nennius p. 142 (Bertram), Ad habitandum.—[37] Claudian de Laud. Stil. l. ii,—Meme juvit Stilicho.—[38] Nennius p. 142.—See a miſtake therefore in Carte p. 213, a Note.—[39] The Triades in Carte p. 213, and Vaughan's Chron. in Carte p. 202. —[40] Carte p. 175.—[41] See Nobilis in Lhuyd.—[42] Claudian de L. Stil. l. ii,—Totam cùm movit Iernem Scotus, & infeſto ſpumavit remige Tethys.—[43] Claudian ibid.; and Oſſian p. 84. vol. i.—[44] P. 162 and 66. vol. ii. and p. 75. vol. i.—[45] Nennius p. 102 and 142, Eubonia; and ſee c. ii. Nennius. — [46] Nennius ibid. — [47] Carte p. 169, from the Lives of the Iriſh Saints.— [48] Claudian ibid.—[49] Nennius p. 102 and 142, regione Manau Guotadin.—[50] Nennius p. 142, ab omnibus regionibus Britannicis.—[51] See b. II. c. i. ſ. 2.

MEM.

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On account of thoſe references to this work in the Genuine Hiſtory of the Britons Aſſerted, for which I have regularly noted the pages of the Quarto on the margins of the preſent; it is proper to remark, that the obſervations in p. 466 &c., ſometimes referred to there, are now incorporated into others, and placed in Appendix N° I.

THE CONCLUSION.

WE have now purſued the hiſtory of Mancheſter to that important period in the annals of the iſland, the conſolidation of its five provinces into one empire, and the deſcent of the Saxons on the whole.

We have ſeen the large extent of the pariſh a wild unfrequented tract of woodland, inhabited merely by the boar, the bull, and the wolf, and traverſed only by the hunters of the neighbouring country. And we have ſeen it ſelected by the monarch of Lancaſhire for the ſeat of a fort in the woods, and a fort actually ſettled in the middle of it. Such was the very early origin of the population of the pariſh, and the firſt commencement of a town within it. And the rude out-lines of the one, and the faint principle of the other, began about fifty years before the Chriſtian æra, and within the compaſs of the Caſtle-field.

The foreſt aſſumes a new life and colouring from it. And the ſilence and ſolitude, that have regularly prevailed before, are now interrupted by the reſort of ſoldiers to the fortreſs, the excurſions of hunters from the field, and the voices of the garriſon on the banks of the Medlock.

But

But that warlike tribe of Latium, which, from a ſmall aſſemblage of outlaws on the heights of the Tiber, had amazingly become the lords of Italy, the maſters of Gaul, and the conquerors of half the globe, land upon the iſland, reduce the little kingdoms of the Britons, and advance into Lancaſhire. They penetrate into our woods. They introduce the tumults of war into our pariſh. And they take the original Mancheſter.

An additional ſpirit then actuates the woodland. A Roman ſtation is conſtructed on the Caſtle-field. Another is eſtabliſhed about a mile to the north of it. And the ſite of the preſent town is now cleared in part of its trees, and firſt receives a colony of inhabitants upon it; one indeed that is but tranſitory in its nature, and exiſts only during the continuance of ſummer. The moſt north-weſterly part of the foreſt is appropriated to the feeding of the Roman cattle; and four little fortreſſes are placed for their protection within it. And the whole woodland is interſected with large roads on every ſide, all ranging in right lines through the thickets, and converging to a point at the Caſtle-field.

One thing more compleats the great change in the aſpect of this region. A regular town is now for the firſt time laid out in the pariſh. And a neighbouring baron and his clan are ſettled within it. This is placed in the center of the foreſt, and founded in the memorable autumn of 79. And the adjoining ſtation in the Caſtle-field becomes the citadel of the new Mancheſter.

Under the auſpices of the Roman genius in Britain, that principle of population, which had faintly quickened before at the heart of the woodland, now becomes active

and vigorous, and diffuſes its influence on every ſide. The beaſts are diſlodged to a greater diſtance from the town. The receding foreſt curves in an amphitheater of woods around it. And all the mechanical arts are ſucceſsfully tranſplanted into the wild. Civility, literature, and politeneſs follow. And Chriſtianity cloſes the rear.

Immediately a new ſcene of ſorrow ariſes. A freſh invaſion is meditated from the continent. A tribe of idolatrous ſavages is haſtening from the ſhores of Germany. Ruin marks their advance. Ignorance, incivility, and barbariſm attend upon them. And the fall of Manchester approaches.

The hiſtories of a town, of a nation, and of man, are nothing but records of human calamities and regiſters of human woes. Theſe, however, are generally provoked by vices, and are naturally productive of virtues. They re-invigorate by the taſk of trials that tone of the mind, which was previouſly weakened by inactivity. And, in forcible appeals to the thoughtfulneſs of the ſoul, they aſſert thoſe powers of religion, which were ſinking before in the ſenſualities of peace. The convulſions of nature and the enormities of man, the war of elements, and the ſubverſion of empires, are all admirably directed by the controuling influence of the Deity, to the great purpoſes of ſupporting the moral intereſts of the world, and impreſſing the heart with the truths of religion.

APPENDIX.

N° I.

I HAVE long thought, that a regular courſe of remarks upon the incidents and obſervations, which occur in the principal of our Engliſh hiſtorians, would be of conſiderable ſervice to hiſtorical knowledge. Our beſt national accounts, in the period eſpecially before the Conqueſt, call loudly, I think, for the corrective hand of criticiſm. Prejudice and partiality, ignorance and inattention, dulneſs and refinement, have all co-operated to throw their ſeveral falſe colours over the face of our annals, and diſguiſe their real and genuine features. And ſome bolder ſpirit has been long wanted among us, that would dare to read, examine, and think for himſelf; mount up to the fountain-heads of our hiſtory, there mark the principles that ſecretly colour the waters at the ſource, and then obſerve the tints that incorporate with them afterwards. Something of this nature is attempted in the preſent work. But it wants perhaps one addition. It ſhould not only endeavour to open the great and unveiled truths of our hiſtory, but alſo point out the errours, with which the earlier part of it ſeems to be clouded over. The brightneſs of truth, like that of

the ſun, is moſt fully diſplayed, not merely by the radiance of its own light, but by a contraſt with its oppoſite darkneſs. And the many faults that have been committed by all our recent hiſtorians, I think, and are continually gleaned by each ſucceeding writer from the earlier, will be the ſooner avoided by being held up to the light, and our iſland annals more readily purged of their original falſities.

Theſe reaſons have induced me to begin here, and to think of continuing regularly in the appendix, a ſeries of remarks, ſhort and deciſive, on our two beſt hiſtorians Mr. Carte and Mr. Hume, as the proper repreſentatives of the reſt. I ſhall remark upon them, however, only ſo far as their accounts run parallel in time with my own. And I ſhall do it with all the reſpect that is due to both. From this plan I foreſee not a little advantage to myſelf; as I doubt not but I ſhall have frequent occaſion, in animadverting upon them, to correct myſelf. And each volume of the Hiſtory of Mancheſter, before it appears in publick, will be improved by the light reflected back from the appendix. The obſervations will, many of them perhaps, appear un-important and trifling in the detail. But all will be found ſerviceable, I think, as parts of a whole. And, before I finally cloſe the ſubject, a regular ſcheme of hiſtorical criticiſm may be given, perhaps, for all the period of our national hiſtory before the Conqueſt.

At this time, I ſhall notice only ſuch parts of Mr. Hume's and Mr. Carte's hiſtories, as relate to the preceding accounts. And theſe are not very many. The preſent

preſent work has ſtruck out a new path of hiſtory, that ſeldom comes near to theirs.

CARTE

Vol. I.

P. 4—7, Mr. Carte gives us his etymologies for the names Albion and Britain; deriving the former in the uſual ſtrain of our hiſtorians from the white cliffs of Dover, and the latter from the Britanni on the continent. But theſe etymons are entirely overthrown, I think, in ch. i. ſ. 1. before, and, more particularly, in the Genuine Hiſtory of the Britons aſſerted againſt Mr. Macpherſon, p. 91—93 and 95—103.

P. 7—15, Mr. Carte is employed in following the track of Monſ. Pezron, and tracing thoſe Celtæ who planted Gaul and peopled Britain, in their progreſs weſtward from the ſeat of their original patriarch. But this is a ſubject ſo compleatly inveloped in darkneſs, that we cannot advance a ſtep upon certain ground. We are every moment in danger of ſtumbling upon ſtones or ſinking into pitfalls. And not a ruſhlight appears at a diſtance, to direct us in the dubious and dangerous progreſs. I ſay not this, however, from the faſhionable petulance of briſkneſs and vanity, which often condemns the reſearches that it is too ignorant or too indolent to purſue itſelf, and haſtily reprobates every attempt as impracticable which is attended with

difficulty. And I ſpeak it only from the plain nature of the caſe. The Sacred Hiſtory frequently lends us information with regard to the father of a people, and the firſt place of his ſettlement. But it goes no farther. The great Being, who amazingly condeſcended to become hiſtorian to man, became ſo only to promote the awful purpoſes of religion in the world. After the Diſperſion, therefore, he confines himſelf entirely to the family of Abraham, and gives us only incidental notices concerning the nations that bordered immediately upon it. And profane hiſtory cannot ſupply its place; as it does not give us its light, till ages after theſe weſtern regions of Europe were all inhabited.

That the iſles of the Gentiles were firſt peopled by the deſcendants of Japhet, is a declaration of Infallibility; and means, I ſuppoſe, only the iſlands and ſhores on the northern ſide of the Mediterranean. But that the family of Tiras or Tirax, his youngeſt ſon, firſt planted Europe, and ſpread themſelves to the weſtern coaſt of the Atlantick, as is aſſerted by Mr. Carte in p. 8—11; and were afterwards ſubdued by colonies from the deſcendants of Gomer the eldeſt, as is affirmed in p. 11—12; is ſaid without any authority of reaſon or of fact. Scripture only can carry us ſo far up the current of time. And it is quite ſilent on the ſubject. The only pretended proof of the former is the ungrounded affirmation, that the ſons of Tirax had the names of Thraces, Briges, and Phryges; and the wild ſuppoſition, that theſe are the ſame with Frixi, Frigones, Friſones, Friſii, Pariſii, Brigantes, Briſones, Britones, and Britanni (p. 9): when almoſt all theſe appellations

actually appear only as the names of the Gomerians or Celtæ many centuries afterward. And the only argument in favour of that Gomerian hiſtory, which is related in p. 12—15, is this, That the fabulous ſtories of the antients concerning their gods Saturn, Jupiter, Mercury, and Pluto, ſeem to have related to the antient princes on the northern coaſt of the Mediterranean. But this is no evidence, that theſe princes were kings of the Gomerians. It particularly does not ſhew, whether they were Gomerian or Thracian monarchs. And it much leſs proves, that the Thracians were the firſt planters of Europe, and afterwards ſubdued by the Gomerians.

There are, I believe, no traces in any part of Celtick Europe, of an original ſettlement there by the ſons of Tirax, or of a ſubſequent reduction of theſe by the children of Gomer. And this part of Mr. Carte's or Monſ. Pezron's ſyſtem has not even the uſual ground-work of ſuch precarious ſpeculations, a ſemblance of hiſtorical probability. If indeed they had thought judiciouſly over their ſcheme, and endeavoured to give their airy hypotheſis a more ſubſtantial form; they would have cut off the whole of the Thracian plantation of weſtern Europe, and made the Gomerian invaſion the primary eſtabliſhment of it. And undertaken upon better principles, and executed in a more argumentative manner, this would pretty certainly have given us the true origin of our Celtick anceſtors.

N.B. I paſs over the etymologies with which Mr. Carte has preſented us, to confirm his poſitions. The former indeed have, many of them, been given very often before.

But

But they are as ridiculous as the latter are viſionary. And it would be too degrading for criticiſm, to refute ſeriouſly the derivation of the national names of Parthi and Sacæ from the Welſh Parthy and the Engliſh To Part and Sack (p. 11); and the deduction of Uranus, the Greek ϰρανος or heaven, from the Armorick Ur-ên a man of the heavens (p. 12); of Mercury from Merc a Latin-Britiſh word, and Ur, ſignifying a man of merchandiſe (p. 14); of Cronos, the Greek χρονος or time, from Corona, Kroon, or Crown, and of Pluto from the Greek πλουτος or riches (p. 13); the fantaſtical buttreſſes of a whimſical building.

P. 16. "This [Thracian or Phrygian] deſcent of "theirs [the Britons] ſeems to be ſufficiently pointed "out, and the memory of it to be preſerved, in the "name of the Brigantes, who were known to be, "what Cæſar calls, the Aborigines, the firſt inhabi-"tants of this iſland. This was certainly the old tra-"dition of the natives; not only in his time, agree-"ably to what he tells of their firſt coming over from "Gaul; but alſo in Bede's, who, living in the heart "of the country of the Brigantes, ſpeaks of it, as their "received opinion, that Great Britain was firſt peopled "ex Armoricano tractu, not from the particular pro-"vince of Bretagne, but from the whole tract of the "ſea-coaſt."

In this ſpecimen of inaccurate and vague reaſoning are many miſtakes.—Cæſar ſays not, either that the Brigantes were the Aborigines of Britain, or that the latter

latter came over from Gaul. His words are theſe: Britanniæ pars interior ab iis incolitur quos *natos in inſulâ ipsâ* memoriâ proditum dicunt; maritima pars ab iis qui ex Belgis tranſierant. And I have ſhewn before, ch. i. ſ. 1, and in the Hiſtory of the Britons aſſerted p. 71—74, that the name of Brigantes was not peculiar to the aboriginal Britons, but common to them and the Belgæ. The Belgick Trinovantes are particularly mentioned as Brigantes by the famous Galgacus. And the whole body of the Britiſh Belgæ are denominated Allobroges by Richard. — But how can any intimation in Cæſar, if there had been any, that the Aborigines came over from Gaul; or any in Bede, of their derivation ex Armoricano tractu; prove the Phrygian or Thracian deſcent of the firſt coloniſts, and in oppoſition too to the Gomerian of the ſecond?—Cæſar oppoſes the Aborigines to the Belgæ; but Mr. Carte contraſts them with the Gomerians or Celtæ. And Bede, in his traditionary derivation of the Britons ex Armoricano tractu, extends it to all of them; while Mr. Carte confines and appropriates it to the Aborigines. —Did not the Gomerians alſo, even according to Mr. Carte's own repreſentations, come equally with his fancied Thracians from Gaul, and (as he himſelf extends the words to all the ſea-coaſt of France) ex Armoricano tractu? And are not all the Belgæ in Britain, as I have mentioned above, denominated Broges and Brigantes?

P. 17. " Mr. Camden ſeems entirely of opinion, that " the firſt inhabitants of this iſland came from the Go- " marians, the proper and peculiar name of the Britons, " being called (as the Welſh, their genuine remains, " call themſelves at this day) Kumero, Cumero, Cymro, " and Cumeri, like as a Britiſh or Welſh woman, Ku- " merae, and the tongue itſelf Kumeraeg: This of it- " ſelf is a ſtrong preſumption, and he enforces it with " ſeveral reaſons, to which I readily ſubſcribe."

The inconſiſtency of this extract, and indeed of the whole paragraph from which I have taken it, with all the preceding account, is very apparent. The firſt coloniſts of the iſland are derived, before, from the ſons of Tirax, and now from the deſcendants of Gomer. Their Thracian or Phrygian deſcent is endeavoured to be proved, before, from the name of Brigantes, the teſtimony of Cæſar, and the tradition of Bede. Now, all theſe arguments are ſet aſide by Mr. Carte himſelf, and the author readily ſubſcribes to an opinion the very reverſe of his own. He here aſſigns reaſons and expreſſes a belief, entirely ſubverſive of all the former parts of his ſyſtem. And, what is as remarkable, this is no accidental and occaſional deviation from his ſettled opinion; and he perſiſts ever afterwards in this new belief.

P. 17—21. In theſe pages the author endeavours to fix the firſt population of this iſland. And at the cloſe he ſays thus—" It ſeems impoſſible to conceive, but " that Great Britain muſt at the lateſt be planted in one " of

" of thoſe reigns [Pluto's or Mercury's]—, which " took up together the ſpace of a century. It was pro- " bably in the former, that the firſt Gomerian or Cel- " tic colonies were ſettled in this iſland, which muſt " conſequently have been planted 2000 years before " the Chriſtian æra."

In the former edition, and in anſwer to this very argument, I had obſerved, That the ſeries of Mr. Carte's own hiſtory pretty plainly oppoſes this notion of his; as it ſettles in p. 22 the firſt migrations of the Gauls of which we can aſcertain the period, migrations too occaſioned by populouſneſs, not till nearly 1500 years after the æra aſſigned here for the firſt inhabitation of Britain. And I had equally obſerved, That the hiſtory of population in England and Ireland ſeems ſtrongly to prove the country not to have been inhabited till about 1000 years before Chriſt. The latter argument I have ſince enlarged in the Hiſt. of the Britons aſſerted. And from the progreſs of population in the iſland and on the continent, the concurrence of one with the other, the coincidence of both with the notices of hiſtory, and the convergence of all to one common point of time, I have there ſhewn with as much certainty, I think, as the nature of the ſubject will admit, That Britain was not peopled till ten ages after the period ſet down by Mr. Carte for the fact. See p. 29—32 of the Hiſt. of the Britons.

P. 21—23. " About 150 years before Chriſt, the " Belgæ—croſſed the Rhine, and took poſſeſſion of the " maritime

" maritime provinces of Gaule, — tranſported over " forces to Britain, and—reduced at laſt all the ſouthern " parts of this iſland from Kent to the Land's End."

This invaſion of Gaul by the Belgæ muſt have happened much earlier, as they even invaded Britain 200 years before it. See before ch. xii. ſ. 4, and Hiſt. of the Britons p. 64.

P. 23—24. The progreſs of the Cimbri here from the Palus Mæotis to the northern parts of Germany, and afterwards into the midland regions of it, is entirely falſe, I apprehend, and is certainly un-authenticated by Mr. Carte. The Cimbri of Jutland, like the Si-cambri on the Rhine, were aſſuredly derived, as they are in ch. xii. ſ. 4. above and in The Hiſt. of the Britons p. 51—53, from the great ſtock of the Cimbri in Gaul.

P. 24. " Hither—the old inhabitants of Belgium " came—; and in all probability found the Britains " willing to receive their new gueſts, and give them " vaſt quantities of land, which they did not cultivate. " —Devonſhire and Cornwalle were all in a manner a " wild foreſt at the coming of the Belgæ, as they con- " tinued to be in a great degree till within one hundred " and fifty years after the Conqueſt. Somerſetſhire " was the ſame for the moſt part.—Dorſetſhire too was " full of the like foreſts. And it is well known, how " widely extended that of Anderida was, and what a " large

" large tract of country it took up in Kent and Suſſex. " Theſe ſeem accordingly to have been the parts where " the Belgic Britanni firſt ſettled."

All this is plainly erroneous. There is a miſtake equally in the facts alledged, and in their application to the preſent ſubject.—The quiet ſettlement of the Belgæ in Britain is aſſerted in direct oppoſition to Cæſar. Britanniæ—maritima pars (he ſays) ab iis [incolitur] qui, *prædæ ac belli inferendi causâ*, ex Belgis tranſierant; qui omnes,—*bello illato*, ibi remanſerunt. See alſo before ch. xii. ſ. 4.—And, though theſe counties had been in a manner a wild foreſt at the coming of the Belgæ, yet this would be no proof of their being uninhabited by the Britons before. The whole kingdom of the Coritani was nothing but one great foreſt, to the coming of the Romans (ſee ch. v. ſ. 3. before).—Kent, Suſſex, Devonſhire, Cornwall, Dorſetſhire, and Somerſetſhire were alſo inhabited by no leſs than ſeven tribes, and three of them actually Britiſh, before and after the Belgæ came. And theſe three were the Carnabii, the Cimbri, and the Hædui; all equally ſubdued by the Proper Belgæ of Hampſhire, and the Damnonian of Devonſhire.—The ſix counties were ſo far from continuing in a great degree a foreſt to the Conqueſt, that they had each of them many Britiſh towns in them even before the Romans came, and many Roman cities afterwards. And, if they had remained in a great degree a foreſt for ſo many ages after the Belgick ſettlements, then theſe muſt have made very little alteration in the ſtate and aſpect of the country; and the lands muſt have been almoſt as little occupied by the Belgæ now, as by the

the Britons before.—Nor could the Belgæ have ſettled, as they are here ſuppoſed by Mr. Carte, in theſe counties at firſt. Paſſing aſſuredly acroſs the narroweſt part of the ſea, and confining themſelves, as Cæſar informs us, to the ſouthern ſhore; they muſt gradually have extended their dominions from Kent to the Land's End. And their firſt poſſeſſions would be Kent, Suſſex, and Hampſhire; and Dorſetſhire, Devonſhire, Somerſetſhire, and Cornwall, their laſt.—So pregnant with errours is this paſſage!

P. 25. "Theſe colonies from Belgium had been "uſed to live—, not—, like the Brigantes [or native "Britons], in woods,—but—in towns and villages; "and—towns and cities now began to be founded."

For a refutation of this wild opinion, which throws a ſhade over all the author's account here, we need only appeal to one authority, Cæſar's, and to his account of the only two Britiſh towns which he ſtormed. One was in the country of the Belgick Cantii, and the other in the dominions of Caſſivellaunus, a monarch of the aboriginal Britons. And they appear both the ſame. The former was no more a modern town or village, than the latter; but merely, like it, a fortreſs in the woods. And Cæſar expreſsly aſſures us, that there was no other ſort of towns in the iſland. Oppidum Britanni vocant, quum ſilvas impeditas vallo atque foſsâ munierunt (p. 92).

—"Such

—" Such were the numbers [of Belgæ] which came " over thither [into Kent], that, inſtead of mixing " with the Britains, as the others ſeem to have done, " they formed a diſtinct people of themſelves, known " by the name of Nouantæ or New Inhabitants, or " Nou Cantæ or New Kentiſhmen, from whom Ptolemy " calls the Foreland of Kent Promontorium Nou- " cantium."

The Nouantæ were not the inhabitants of Kent, but are placed in Eſſex by Ptolemy, and in Eſſex and Middleſex by Richard and the truth.—And, that they are ſometimes denominated Noucantæ, is a ſtrange miſtake. They are never called ſo.—And, that the Foreland of Kent is called Promontorium Noucantium by Ptolemy, is as ſtrange a one. It bears only the names of Cantion and A-Cantion in him and Strabo (p. 294 and 304); ſignifying Promontory and The Promontory.

P. 26. " As for the true Belgæ, they had no man- " ner of taſte for trade: their diſpoſition was entirely " warlike.—Their time too was taken up in Gaule " &c."

Such is the character here given of the Belgæ that migrated into Britain. And yet, the very page before, we have one given of them that is juſt the reverſe of this. In p. 25 it is ſaid of the Belgæ of Britain, that " *Commerce* and husbandry had been their chief em- " ployments in Gaule." How unguarded and contradictory!

—" Divitiacus aſſembling a large body of forces, " compoſed of his own ſubjects, the Bibroci in the " Rhemois, the Atrebates, and other Belgic nations,— " paſſed the ſea into Britain; and reduced a great part " of it into his obedience. The chief ſcene of his con- " queſts lay in the counties of Berks and Oxford, " where he planted the Bibroci and Atrebates; and in " thoſe of Hants, Wilts, and the bordering parts of " Somerſet and Suſſex, where he ſettled the other ad- " venturers, who went by the general name of Belgæ; " expelling the Regni and other clans of the old inha- " bitants from their ſeats in thoſe countries."

Here is a variety of miſtakes, all reſulting principally from Mr. Carte's inattentiveneſs to that line of diſtinction, which facts point out and I have traced above, betwixt the Belgick and Aboriginal tribes of the iſland.—The Bibroces and Atrebates I have ſhewn in ch. v. ſ. 3. to have been both Aboriginal, and not Belgick, nations. They could not therefore be tranſported into Britain at this period. And they could not have been ſettled in their dominions by Divitiacus.—Nor did theſe dominions extend into Oxfordſhire. They were all confined to the ſouth of the Thames.—And the chief ſcene of Divitiacus's conqueſts did not lie in Oxfordſhire and Berkſhire. Theſe counties were ſo far from being the principal theater of his actions, that they were actually none at all. And in ch. xii. ſ. 2. I have ſhewn, in what part of the iſland his conqueſts probably lay.—They were not in Somerſetſhire and Suſſex. They could not be, even according to Mr. Carte's

Carte's own repreſentation before. In p. 24 he has ſettled the firſt colonies of the Belgæ in Suſſex and Somerſetſhire. And thoſe countries were therefore poſſeſſed by the Belgæ before Divitiacus came over, and could not be conquered by them now.—In p. 24 Mr. Carte has alſo fixed the earlieſt colonies in Kent, Suſſex, &c., as lying all waſte, and being unpoſſeſt by the Britons. But here it appears, that ſome part of Suſſex, particularly, did not lie waſte, and was actually poſſeſſed by a whole nation of the Britons, the Regni.—And theſe Regni inhabited not merely thoſe parts of Suſſex that border upon Hampſhire. They extended over the whole of it (ſee ch. iii. ſ. 2).—And the conqueſts of Divitiacus could have as little to do with Hampſhire, as with Suſſex. This, as I have ſhewed before, muſt naturally have been a part of the firſt poſſeſſions of the Belgæ, as they ſpread ſucceſſively from Kent into Cornwall. And therefore it could not be conquered now.—Nor were the Regni expelled from their poſſeſſions at this period. They continued in them, and were maſters of all Suſſex, even to the period of the Roman ſettlement among us (ſee ch. iii. ſ. 2).—Nor were the Regni likely to be expelled by the Belgæ. They were Belgæ themſelves. Maritima pars (ſays Cæſar) ab iis [incolitur] qui ex Belgis tranſierant. And ſee ch. xii. ſ. 2.

P. 26—27. "It is very probable, that—he [Divi-" tiacus] ſubdued a good part of the Iceni."

This is a ſuppoſition not at all probable in itſelf. And it is certainly not true. In ch. v. ſ. 3. I have ſhewn, that it is not; and that the Caſſii, the great enemies of the Belgæ, and the ſubduers of the Belgick Trinovantes, lay betwixt them and the Iceni.

P. 27. "That great prince's ambition [Divitiacus's] "had involved them [the Belgæ] in wars with the "natives; in which the Atrebates and Trinobantes, "lying upon the borders, ſuffered moſt; and—the "Iceni and Cattivellauni found it no difficult matter "to recover their liberty. Had it not been for that "reigning paſſion in Divitiacus,—the Belgæ might "probably have continued much longer in amity with "the Britons—."

The Belgæ, as I have already ſhewn in theſe remarks, had been previouſly engaged in wars with the natives. And they had been ſo from the firſt moment of their deſcent on the country. Prædæ ac belli inferendi causâ ex Belgis tranſierant, et bello illato ibi remanſerunt (Cæſar p. 92).—In theſe wars the Atrebates and Trinobantes could not ſuffer more than any other Belgæ. The Atrebates were not of the Belgæ. They were Aboriginal Britons.—The Cattivellauni are now firſt mentioned by Mr. Carte. And they are here repreſented as throwing off the yoke of the Belgæ, when we have yet had no account of their reduction by them.—But the reduction of either them or the Iceni, and the poſteriour recovery of both from the yoke, are incidents forged only in the fancy of the hiſtorian, contrary to the

the teſtimony of authentick hiſtory, and indubitably untrue.

N. B. From p. 27 to 71 is a hiſtory of Druidiſm, and, in general, a good one; but marked in many places with thoſe ſtrokes of the conjectural and fanciful, which it is perhaps difficult to avoid in a work of this nature. And from p. 71 to 77 is an account of the Gauls.—I have little to do with either. And I ſhall note only two or three paſſages, that contradict my former accounts.

P. 43. "Gildas informs us, that the Britons in his "time had very ill-favoured ſtatues, and paid divine "honours to mountains, hills, and rivers."

This is very inaccurately ſtated. Gildas ſays only, that the Britons worſhipped theſe objects, and had ill-favoured ſtatues, before they were converted to Chriſtianity; and that ſome of the latter remained to his own time. He will not enumerate (he ſays c. 2) patriæ portenta ipſa diabolica, pænè numero vincentia Egyptiaca, quorum nonnulla lineamentis adhuc deformibus intra vel extra deſerta mœnia, ſolito more rigentia, torvis vultibus intuemur; neque—montes ipſos—vel fluvios,—quibus divinus honor a cæco tunc populo cumulabatur. Here, we ſee, he ſpeaks not of any idolatrous worſhip remaining to his own time. He only ſays, that ſome monuments of it continued till then. And theſe were not, as Mr. Carte has made them, the images formed and worſhipped by the primitive Britons;

but thoſe of the Roman only. They were ſeen, he obſerves, intra vel extra deſerta mœnia, at the ſites of the Roman-Britiſh cities that had been recently deſtroyed by the Saxons. And ſeveral of them have come down to the preſent times.

P. 73. "Some fleſh-meat,—but chiefly milk,—and "bread, were their ordinary food; though the Gauls "regaled themſelves—with cheeſe, which the Britons "had not learned to make."

Mr. Carte has before repreſented the high degree of civility to which the Belgæ of Britain had arrived, by giving them regular towns. But he here makes a large deduction from that account, and denies them even the art of making cheeſe. The panegyrick was exaggerated. And the deduction is unjuſt. They had no regular towns. And they actually made cheeſes. Some of the Britons, ſays Strabo, know not how to make cheeſe; ενιους μη τοροποιειν δια την απειριαν, p. 305. Many of them therefore did; and all aſſuredly that underſtood agriculture, the Belgæ, and even ſome of the neighbouring Britons.—And, as to bread, it is highly probable that it was not the ordinary food of one half of the Britons. Where agriculture was practiſed, as among the Belgæ and ſome of the adjoining Aborigines, there bread undoubtedly would be uſed. But where the former was unknown, as among all the other Britons, there the latter could not ordinarily be had. And it was moſt probably not had at all. Barley indeed ſeems to have been brought into the northern kingdoms from the

the ſouth, for the ſervice of the breweries. But it would naturally be appropriated to them. The want of bread might be ſupplied by the miniſtery of roots. But there could be no ſubſtitute for a cordial, exhilarating, and animating liquor. And the latter would, in every ruder age and colder climate, be infinitely preferred to the former. That therefore would be kept up by barley expenſively fetched from the ſouthern regions of the iſland, while this would be neglected or over-looked.

P. 74. " In Cæſar's time neither they [the Gauls], " nor the Belgæ of the ſouth parts of Britain, painted " their bodies."

This aſſertion concerning the Belgæ is directly contrary to Cæſar's own account of the Britons. Longè ſunt humaniſſimi qui Cantium incolunt (ſays he), quæ regio eſt maritima omnis, neque multùm a Gallicâ differunt conſuetudine: interiores plerique frumenta non ſerunt: *omnes verò ſe Britanni vitro inficiunt.* Here the Belgæ of the ſea-coaſt are expreſsly declared to have been equally painted with the interiour or Aboriginal Britons.

— " The Gauls had a like advantage, in the large- " neſs of their houſes, over the Britains, whoſe cabins " were very mean, made up of reeds and wood, or of " ſods and hurdles."

To this falſe account there needs no other reply, than to obſerve, that Cæſar expreſsly contradicts it. The houſes of the Britons, he remarks, were almoſt exactly the ſame with thoſe of the Gauls: Ædificia ferè Gallicis

conſimilia. The latter therefore could have little or no advantage over the former, either in the ſize or the nature of their houſes.

P. 75. "The Celtæ deſpiſed death ſo much, as often "to fight naked; the Gauls doing that out of a brava- "do, which the Britons were forced to ſubmit to out of "neceſſity."

This is in the general ſtrain of our hiſtorians. But I have ſhewn before, ch. vii. ſ. 5, in oppoſition to them all, that the Britons were as regularly cloathed as the Gauls; that they appeared naked only in the hour of battle; that ſome even of the Gauls retained the cuſtom to the days of Diodorus; and that, ſtill more wonderful, the Highlanders even partially preſerved it to the reign of King William, throwing off their plaids and ſhort coats, and fighting in their ſhirts, as late as the battle of Killicranky.

—"The Britains—had the broad ſword without a "point, as well as the ſhorter dagger, and ſuch jave- "lins and arrows as they uſed in their hunting; but "the common people were ill provided in this reſpect, "their darts being generally ſticks of wood, burnt and "ſharpened at both ends, and a long ſtaff edged to- "wards the end with flint or headed with a piece of "copper [a celt], inſtead of halberts: theſe were their "offenſive weapons. A light round target—was all they "uſed for their defence; having neither coats of mail "nor helmets, as Tacitus aſſures us."

In

In the lines immediately preceding this extract we are told, that the Gauls had coats of mail, helmets, broad long ſwords without points, and ſhort ones; darts, javelins, and battle-axes. And if this repreſentation of the Gallick armouries be, as it is, juſt and true, the Britiſh muſt have been better provided than they are here deſcribed to be. The weapons of all the Celtæ would naturally be the ſame, with only thoſe ſmall and incidental variations which commerce might have introduced among them. And, that the Britiſh and Gallick arms were exactly the ſame, we are expreſsly aſſured by Mela; who ſays, that the Britons were Gallicè armati (ſee ch. i. ſ. 2. before).—Nor does Tacitus's account contradict this, even as applied by Mr. Carte. He ſays, that the bulk of the Caledonians had no coats of mail or helmets. And this is very conſiſtent with the other. The principal warriours only wore them, as I have ſhewn in ch. i. ſ. 2. And thoſe only muſt have worne them in Gaul, as only ſuch were clad in them even to theſe later times. —The Britiſh halbert in Mr. Carte I have ſhewn above, ch. i. ſ. 2, to have been the ſame inſtrument that he here aſſigns to the Gauls, a battle-axe. And the agreement of the Britiſh and Gallick weapons is an additional evidence in favour of the opinion.—That the darts of the Britons were generally ſticks of wood burnt and ſharpened at both ends, is all an aſſertion without proof. And it is clearly unjuſt. The Caledonian ſpears (ſays Dio) had a brazen apple at the end (ſee ch. i. ſ. 2). And, if they had this at one end, they were certainly pointed with metal at the other.—Nor was the Britiſh target always round. Generally it was ſo. But we

we have one upon a coin of Cunobeline, which is in the form of a lozenge; as I have remarked in ch. ix. ſ. 2.

P. 76. "Before that time [the Roman conqueſt], "the greateſt part of Britain lay uncultivated—; the "old Britains not underſtanding huſbandry—.The Bel- "gic colonies—firſt began to—build houſes ſubſtantial "enough to laſt for a conſiderable time, as well as con- "tiguous to each other, and to live together in towns "and villages. The Britains ſtill went on in their old "way."

All the old Britons, without exception, are here declared not to underſtand huſbandry. But the declaration is not true. Some of them did. Plerique interiores frumenta non ſerunt, ſays Cæſar.—The houſes alſo of the Britons and Belgæ were exactly the ſame. They were built in the ſame manner with the Gallick. And they were, conſequently, of one and the ſame nature, alike in materials and form.—And that the Belgæ firſt began to build houſes contiguous to each other, and live together in towns and villages, has been already refuted. They had juſt ſuch towns as the Britons, at the period of the Roman conqueſt.

"—The Britains ſtill went on in their old way—. "Their cattle—they drove from place to place, according "to the ſeaſon of the year and the nature of the ſoil—. "Thus Weſtmoreland and Somerſetſhire, being moiſt "and moraſſy countries, ſerved the Brigantes and Dum-

"nonii

" nonii for the ſummer paſtures, as Cumberland, Corn-
" wall,—having a dryer ſoil, did for their winter."

That the nations of the Britons, in general, did drive their cattle from one county to another in ſummer and winter, is impoſſible to be fully true. Few of them poſſeſſed little more than a county or two. And many of them had only a ſingle one.—Nor could the Brigantes have uſed Weſtmoreland and Cumberland for their ſummer and winter paſtures. Weſtmoreland is far from being a moiſt and moraſſy country, or Cumberland from being remarkably dry. The hills of the former muſt have been as good a winter paſture, as any lands in the latter. And the Brigantes could have nothing to do with either, till their reduction of them; which was only about the beginning of the Chriſtian æra. Nor did they then find them deſolate. Cumberland was even then inhabited by a nation, that had extended itſelf over half Weſtmoreland.—And all the change of paſtures, that was made by the Britons, was the ſame undoubtedly as is made to this day by the Highlanders; driving the cattle to the valleys in the ſummer, and re-driving them to the hills in winter.—Somerſetſhire therefore, as ſuch, could not be the winter or ſummer paſtures of any tribe of the Britons. And it did not belong to the Dumnonii. It was inhabited by the whole nation of the Hædui, and a part of the Cimbri. And only a very ſmall portion of it, to the ſouth-eaſt, was poſſeſſed by the Dumnonii.—A great part of Cornwall was equally inhabited by the whole tribe of the Carnabii, and the reſt by the Cimbri and Dumnonii.—And it is remarkable that

Mr. Carte, in ſpeaking of the mode of living among the *old Britons*, inſtances in a couple of tribes, the Dumnonii and Brigantes; when one of them, the former, is according to truth, and even his own accounts both before (p. 23 and 24) and after (p. 103), a tribe of the *Belgæ*.

—The old Britons "had no cities or towns, except "ſuch tranſitory ones as are deſcribed by Strabo, who "ſays that woods ſerved them in ſtead of cities, "for "cutting down a number of trees, they incloſe a "circle, and put up huts in it for themſelves and ſtalls "for their cattle to ſerve them for a little time." "Theſe cabins were only for a preſent ſhelter, whilſt "their cattle fed in a certain place."

That the old Britons had cities, and ſuch as the Belgæ had, has been convincingly ſhewn before. They had, neither of them, any but towns in the woods. And they both had them equally.—The tranſitory cities founded on Strabo's authority are only the fancies of his mis-informed criticks. And his words are theſe. Περιφραξαντες δενδρεσι καταβεβλημενοις ευρυχωρα κυκλον, και αυτοι ενταυθα καλυβοποιησαι, και τα βοσκηματα καταστα-μευσιν, ε προς πολυν χρονον. And here is no account of the Britons ſhifting their habitations, and much leſs of their changing their cities. The whole is a deſcription of a Britiſh town. And Strabo ſays, that it was compoſed of cabins for the garriſon and hovels for the cattle, ε προς πολυν χρονον, built of no durable materials; being not conſtructed, like thoſe of Italy, with ſtone

ſtone or bricks, but with timber and plaiſter. I have ſhewn already from Cæſar, that they were of the ſame materials generally with the Gallick houſes. And they were mean habitations, ſays Diodorus expreſsly, becauſe they were compoſed principally of timber and reeds (p. 346).—Strabo's words alſo, which are here confined by Mr. Carte to the old Britons, are extended in the original to all of them, the Belgæ as well as the Aborigines. And, as they are deſcriptive of a Britiſh town, they ſhew the old Britons and the Belgæ to have equally had towns among them, and equally the ſame ſort of towns; and ſo defeat the very deſign for which Mr. Carte has produced them.

P. 77. "Colonies, from a corruption of which word "that of clan is derived."

How is this poſſible! How could the appellation of clan, which is retained to this day in the un-romanized regions of Caledonia and Ireland only, be derived to them from the Romans! The word indeed is purely Britiſh. And it has no relation to colony, either in its origin or import. It ſignifies only a progeny or family.

P. 80, Mr. Carte cloſes his account of the Britons with theſe remarks. The old Britons were "without "military ſkill or experience, the neceſſary conſequence "of a long courſe of peace, interrupted nowhere ex-

" cept on the borders of the Belgic colonies; in a " country generally—open, without any incloſure, with- " out a ſingle town or fortification from one end of " the kingdom to the other."

That the old Britons had no military ſkill or experience, is ſaid, becauſe it is ſuppoſed that they had no wars, except with the Belgick colonies. And, as this is not true, the other muſt be falſe. Diodorus, indeed, ſays ſomething like it, taking notice that the kings of Britain were generally at peace one with another (p. 347). But then he extends the obſervation equally to the old Britons and the Belgæ. And hiſtory and fact concur to diſprove both his and Mr. Carte's aſſertion. Cauſas ac bella contrahunt, ſays Mela of the Britons in general, ac ſe frequenter invicem infeſtant, maximè imperitandi cupidine, ſtudioque ea prolatandi quæ poſſident (lib. iii. c. 6). And I have, accordingly, ſhewn the old Britons of Yorkſhire and Durham to have reduced the Siſtuntii and Volantii, the Selgovæ, and Carnabii; the Iceni to have ſubdued the Coritani; and the Caſſii the Dobuni, &c. — Nor was Britain generally open and without incloſures. It could not be, when the face of the country was ſo greatly interſected with woods, as Strabo aſſures us that it was (p. 305). — And, that there was not a ſingle town or fortification among the old Britons, is a continuation of the errour refuted above, and the unjuſteſt repreſentation that ever was given. Mr. Carte indeed appears to have *nodded* over this part of his hiſtory. For does not he himſelf gives us an account in p. 94, of Caſſivelaun's town being fortified by the old Britons " very ſtrongly

" both

" both by art and nature," and actually ſtormed by the Romans? Does he not in p. 101 ſpeak of Camulodunum, the capital of Cunobeline, a monarch of the old Britons? And do we not meet with an infinite variety of towns, both in Britain and in Ireland, among the geographers and hiſtorians of Rome? —

P. 94. " Caſſivelaun ſent inſtructions to Cingetorix " and Taximagulus, two Kentiſh potentates, Carvilius, " chief of the Carvilii in Wilts, and Segonax, a prince " of the Segontiaci in Hampſhire, to aſſemble all their " forces and ſurpriſe the naval camp of the Romans."

The making Carvilius chief of the Carvilii, a tribe exiſting only in imagination, and Segonax prince of the Segontiaci, a nation much too remote to be concerned in an attack upon Cæſar's naval camp, is borrowed from the very fanciful, and generally miſtaken, Mr. Baxter. And Dr. Stukeley in his Stonehenge, to the affront of his better judgment, has adopted the ſame wild notion. Cæſar expreſsly declares them all to have been of Kent; Cantium,—quibus regionibus quatuor reges præerant (p. 92).

P. 103. " In all thoſe territories of the Damnonii [Corn- " wall, Devon, and the adjoining parts of Somerſetſhire] " there is not the leaſt veſtige of any Roman ſtation " or encampment [and therefore it is argued, that no " ſtations were ever ſettled there]."

There

There were Iſca Damnoniorum, Moridunum, Cenia, Voluba, Durius, Tamara, &c. Theſe Ptolemy and the Itineraries mention. And there were various others without queſtion, of which they give no account. One or two of theſe laſt are actually deſcribed in Dr. Borlaſe's Cornwall.

N. B. In p. 91, 98, 100, 104, 114, 119, &c. &c., are great miſtakes concerning the poſition of the Britiſh tribes. And I do not wonder at it. The Roman-Britiſh geography of the iſland has never yet been ſatisfactorily ſettled, unleſs it is perhaps in the preſent work.—But I wonder at one thing. That is the inconſiſtency in the accounts of the tribes. The Dumnonii I have remarked before to be repreſented as Belgæ in p. 23, and in p. 76 as old Britons. The Trinobantes, who are always very juſtly noted before as Belgæ, are all at once in p. 114—117 transformed into old Britons. The Regni in p. 16 are placed in the adjoining parts of Suſſex and Hampſhire, and made old Britons: but a part of them in p. 96 is fixed in Surry, and converted into Belgæ; and all of them make their appearance as Belgæ in p. 100, and again in p. 107. And the Caſſii or Cattivellauni are Aborigines in p. 17, Belgæ in p. 90 and 94, and Aborigines again in p. 100.

P. 129. "The inhabitants of the Lowlands of Scot-
" land were, before the Romans came hither, either
" dependants or vaſſals of the Brigantes properly ſo
" called,

" called, or at leaſt confederates with them and of " their race; having the ſame divinity for their parti- " cular patroneſs, as appears from the inſcription on " an altar dug up in Scotland, and inſcribed to the " Goddeſs Brigantia."

I have touched upon this ſubject in ch. iv. ſ. 2, and have there ſhewn, that the ſtatue (not the altar), which was dug up in Scotland, was found in Anandale, and is anſwered by a correſpondent ſtone diſcovered in Cheſhire. And I have obſerved from both, that the Brigantes in Yorkſhire and Durham appear, not to have conquered or confederated with all the nations of Valentia, but on their ſubjection of Lancaſhire, Weſtmoreland, and Cumberland, to have croſſed the Solway and the Merſey, and reduced the Carnabii of Cheſhire and the Selgovæ of Anandale. This the inſcriptions prove. And they prove nothing more. Becauſe the Selgovæ of Anandale appear to have been conquered by the Brigantes, it will not follow that the Damnii, the Ottadini, the Novantes, and the Gadeni had been equally conquered. And we might as well argue, that all Flavia had been likewiſe reduced by the ſame enterpriſing tribe, becauſe Cheſhire had.

P. 130. " Whether they [the Novantes of Valentia] " were a colony of the Belgic Britains (and they ſhould " be Britains, ſince Al-cluid, their capital, was called " Dun-Briton), or of any other Celtic nation ſettled " there upon the old inhabitants removing into Ire- " land,—they certainly ſpoke a different language from

" that of the Iriſh, Caledonians, and other Britains;
" and the Lowland Scots are, in the Iriſh language to
" this day, called Galldach na Halbuin, from Gall, a
" ſtranger."

The hint here, concerning the Belgick origin of the Novantes in Valentia, muſt appear very ridiculous to any one that knows the interiour geography of Britain. There were no Belgick colonies within 300 miles from Valentia.—And the proof, that the Novantes were Britons, is almoſt as ridiculous as the hint before it. Alcluid or Dunbriton was never the capital of the Novantes. It was not even any town of theirs. And their dominions did not reach within eighty or a hundred miles from it.—But the aſſertion, that they ſpoke a ve different language from the other Britons, and the evidence produced in favour of it, is more ridiculous than either. Though the Iriſh do call the Lowland Scots Galldach na Halbuin, and though they meant to call them Strangers by the name; would this prove any particular and ſmall part of the Lowlanders to be peculiarly ſtrangers? And, ſtill more, would it argue them to ſpeak a different language from the reſt of the iſlanders? It certainly would not do either. The Lowlanders might in general be ſtrangers, and yet a particular part of them not be ſo. And they might even all be ſtrangers, and yet not ſpeak a different language. The Belgæ of Middleſex and Eſſex were equally denominated Novantes, and were actually ſtrangers: and yet their language was the ſame with the Britiſh. But the Lowlanders might be called ſtrangers by the Iriſh, becauſe they are Saxons; as the Engliſh in Ireland are

ſaid

ſaid to be equally called ſo by the natives. And even the Highlanders call themſelves to this day by the ſame name of Caeldoch or Galldach. Do they therefore acknowledge themſelves to be ſtrangers in their own country? Or do they ſpeak a very different language from the South-Britiſh, Caledonian, and Iriſh? The real truth is this. The name Galldach na Halbuin ſignifies ſtrangers no more than the inhabitants of the moon. And all our etymologiſts are miſtaken about it. It means only the Gauls of Albion; as the Iriſh call themſelves the Caelich Eirinach or Gauls of Ireland, and call the Engliſh in Ireland the Ghaill, and the French the Gallta and Galltach. And ſee alſo ch. xii. ſ. 4, and the Hiſtory of the Britons aſſerted againſt Mr. Macpherſon p. 120—121.

This obſervation concerning the original meaning of the word Gael, Gallt, and Galltach, is the more proper to be inſiſted upon; as not only Mr. Carte, but even Mr. Macpherſon, a native Highlander, and Mr. O'Halloran, a native Iriſhman, have equally miſtaken the meaning, and built ſchemes of fictitious hiſtory upon it. And the laſt gentleman, in his New Introduction to the Hiſtory and Annals of Ireland, has even gone ſo far, as to draw a line of diſtinction betwixt two words that are one and the ſame, Gael and Gathel; and made them, becauſe the Iriſh (he ſays) popularly make them at preſent, to ſtand Gathel for a Gaul or Iriſhman, and Gael for a ſtranger (p. 192). Gathel, however, I have ſhewn before to be pronounced like Gael in the language equally of the Highlands and of Ireland to this day, and to be equally with it the generical appellation of all

the Britons (ch. xii. ſ. 4, and Hiſtory of the Britons aſſerted p. 77 — 78 and 120 — 121). And this Introduction to the Iriſh hiſtory, though it is animated with an uncommon ſpirit of patriotiſm, and has actually vindicated Ireland from many groſs and eſtabliſhed mis-repreſentations, is not written in a ſtrain of cool and judicious argumentation. I am ſorry to ſay it, becauſe I eſteem the patriot and honour the vindicator in Mr. O'Halloran. But in reaſoning he is often impertinent, in etymology generally ridiculous (ſee p. 199, &c.), and in early hiſtory aſtoniſhingly credulous, as viſionary as a winter's tale, and as fantaſtical as the dream of a feveriſh brain. And I force myſelf to ſpeak thus ſtrongly againſt the Introduction, in order to check (if I can) that torrent of ridiculous and imaginary hiſtory, which the Iriſh are now buſily diſcharging upon us; as I have recently endeavoured to dam up that for ever, which their brethren and antagoniſts of the Highlands have equally let looſe upon the nation. True hiſtory can only ſubſiſt upon the deſtruction of both. And to beat down that wretched ſpirit of credulity, which has been in every age the fixed and hereditary feature of all the remains of the antient Britons among us, is abſolutely neceſſary, in order to maintain the dignity of the national hiſtory, and to vindicate the honour of the national underſtanding.

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HUME.

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P. 1—2. Mr. Hume appears in his hiſtory to be frequently ſeduced from the truth by purſuing a ſplendour of ſentiment, and led away by an affectation of ſingularity into wildneſs and extravagance. And he ſometimes appears adapting his ſentiments to his ſituation, and throwing out ſuch obſervations as will beſt ſerve the preſent purpoſe. And both theſe principles ſeem to have concurred in the production of his remarkable preface. There he advances a poſition, convenient perhaps for himſelf, but certainly unjuſt in its nature, That the hiſtory of nations in their infancy is not worthy a recital; as if the commencement of civil life, the dawn of the arts, and the riſe of literature, were not incidents as important and intereſting, as the poſteriour account of them, their occaſional eclipſes or accidental illuminations. And on this falſe principle he propoſes to run briefly over the events, which attended the Roman conqueſt of Britain.—He aſſigns alſo this additional reaſon for it, that they "belong more to Roman than "Britiſh ſtory" (p. 2). For the ſame reaſon he muſt as briefly run over the Saxon, the Daniſh, and the Norman invaſions, the irruptions of the Scots into our borders, and the deſcents of the French upon our coaſts, as belonging rather to the hiſtory of Saxony, and Denmark, Neuſtria, Scotland, and France. And in writing the annals of

France, Scotland, or Ireland, he would take very little notice of the Engliſh tranſactions in thoſe countries. — Such are the trifling arguments adduced, for giving us ſo ſhort an account of the Roman hiſtory of Britain. And Mr. Hume adds, in proſecution of the former principle, what (as I have obſerved above) the latter would equally have led him to, That he ſhall alſo "haſten through the obſcure and un-intereſting "period of the Saxon annals" (p. 2). By this means, that whole portion of our hiſtory, which (as I have formerly remarked) is the moſt important in all our annals, is conſigned over to neglect and careleſſneſs, as unworthy a man of genius for its writer, and incapable of affording entertainment and inſtruction to the reader. And a ſtrong brand is fixed upon that period of our annals, which is (as I may ſay) the great ſeed-plot of our national hiſtory, as it gives us the origin and inſtitution of all our government, all our civility, and all our religion; and is therefore fraught with infinite variety of inſtruction and pleaſure to the man, the Chriſtian, and the critick.

The extravagance of ſentiment in theſe poſitions, and, what as ſtrongly marks them, the faſtidious affectation of delicacy, muſt have been very manifeſt to a gentleman of Mr. Hume's ſtrong and maſculine judgment. And his ſeverer reflections muſt have been diſguſted with both. But it was not convenient for him, to travel properly through the period preceding the Conqueſt. And yet it was neceſſary in itſelf, in order to give a ſeeming and ſaleable compleatneſs to his hiſtory. In this dilemma, not furniſhed with the requiſite

quiſite knowledge, and yet obliged to engage in the work, he naturally reſolved to ſkim lightly along the ſurface, and throw an air of propriety over his conduct by ſome general reaſons at the beginning. Theſe, however ſlight and flimſy in themſelves, would engage attention from their novelty, and perhaps convert even a deficiency into a grace. And that this was actually the reaſon for the preface and the practice of Mr. Hume, is plain (I think) from the innumerable miſtakes which he has made, even in his method of writing hiſtory, in the Britiſh, Roman, and Saxon periods of it. Some of theſe I ſhall now point out, and nearly tranſcribe the whole of his general account of the Britons.

P. 2. "All antient writers agree in repreſenting the "firſt inhabitants of Britain as a tribe of the Gauls or "Celtæ, who peopled that iſland from the neighbouring continent. Their language was the ſame, their "manners, their government, and ſuperſtition; varied "only by thoſe ſmall differences, which time or a communication with the bordering nations muſt neceſſarily introduce."

Mr. Carte p. 7. ſays thus. And Mr. Hume ſets out the mere abridger of him. "That they [the Britons] "were a Celtic nation, and came hither from Gaule, "is no longer doubted by any body: the perfect conformity between them and the old Gaulois in their "manners, cuſtoms, habits, buildings, temper, warlike genius, ſuperſtitions of religion, and above all

" in their language, joined to the ſituation of the " two countries, not allowing on this head the leaſt " room for diſpute." And Mr. Hume appears to have judiciouſly compacted what had been diffuſively ſaid by Mr. Carte, and to have given us his argument in a better form.—But he has varied a little from his original, and thereby fallen into miſtakes. Mr. Carte ſays, that the Gallick derivation of the Britons is no longer doubted by any one; and Mr. Hume, that it is unanimouſly aſſerted by all the antient writers. Theſe are very different propoſitions. And the former is generally true, but the latter entirely falſe. There are only two antient writers, I think, that ſpeak of the Gallick deſcent of the Britons. One is Cæſar, who does not agree with Mr. Hume. And the other is Tacitus, who directly oppoſes him. Cæſar ſays not, whence the great body of the iſlanders was derived; and he ſpeaks only of the ſouthern Britons as Gallick Belgæ. Britanniæ pars interior ab iis incolitur quos *natos in inſulâ ipsâ memoriâ proditum* dicunt; maritima pars ab iis qui—ex Belgis tranſierant (p. 88). And Tacitus expreſsly affirms the origin of the Britons to be a thing unknown. Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenæ an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum (Agric. Vit. c. xi). He then advances ſeveral conjectures, that the Caledonians were of German origin, and the Silures of Spaniſh; or rather upon the whole, that they were all of Gallick. But he advances theſe only as conjectures, as problematical reaſonings from the aſpect of the men, the vicinity of the ſeveral parts of the continent, or a conformity of religious principles.

And

And " all the antient writers, that agree in repreſent-
" ing the *firſt* inhabitants of Britain as a tribe of the
" Gauls," appear to be only one, who only *conjectures* that they were ſo, but aſſerts their real origin to have been utterly unknown.—I mention not this, to deſtroy or render dubious the Gallick origin of the old Britons. I do it, merely to vindicate the truth. The argument is a good one in itſelf. And I have endeavoured to improve it into a demonſtration, in ch. xii. ſ. 4 and Hiſtory of the Britons aſſerted p. 28—29.

— " Their language was the ſame, their manners,
" their government, their ſuperſtition; varied only by
" thoſe ſmall differences, which time and a communi-
" cation with the bordering nations muſt neceſſarily
" introduce."

This account is evidently taken from Tacitus, though neither Tacitus nor any other hiſtorian is quoted for it. His words are theſe. Eorum [Gallorum] ſacra deprehendas, ſuperſtitionum perſuaſione. Sermo haud multùm diverſus; in depoſcendis periculis eadem audacia, et, ubi advenerint, in detrectandis eadem formido. And Mr. Hume appears to have added to Tacitus's account, and thrown in a circumſtance that is not true. Tacitus ſays not, that the governments of the Gauls and Britons were the ſame. And they were not. The Gauls had nothing but a kind of ariſtocratical republicks among them, in the days of Cæſar and Strabo. And the Britons had none at all. The magiſtrates of the former, therefore, were always elective and

and generally annual; and thoſe of the latter hereditary and for life. See Cæſar and Strabo for the Gallick republicks; Cæſar p. 2, 3, and 5 for the Helvetian, p. 9 and 34 for the Æduan, and p. 32 and Strabo p. 301 for all.

P. 3. "The Greek and Roman navigators or merchants brought back the moſt ſhocking accounts of the ferocity of the people, which they magnified, as uſual, in order to excite the admiration of their countrymen. The ſouth-eaſt parts, however, of Britain had already, before the age of Cæſar, made the firſt and moſt requiſite ſtep towards a civil ſettlement; and the Britains, by tillage and agriculture, had there encreaſed to a great multitude (Cæſar lib. iv)."

Where are theſe moſt ſhocking accounts of our anceſtors to be found at preſent? I remember nothing but the Britannos hoſpitibus feros of Horace, which is not very ſhocking, and could not have been much magnified. And the quotation here from Cæſar is the firſt in the hiſtory, and is greatly miſapplied.—That only the *ſouth-eaſtern* parts of Britain were acquainted with tillage, is not ſaid by Cæſar. His words are theſe. Britanniæ pars interior ab iis incolitur, quos natos in inſulâ ipsâ memoriâ proditum dicunt; maritima pars ab iis qui—ex Belgis tranſierant: and, Ex his omnibus longè ſunt humaniſſimi qui Cantium incolunt; quæ regio eſt maritima omnis, neque multùm a Gallicâ differunt conſuetudine; interiores plerique frumenta non ſerunt (p. 89). Here we ſee, not merely the ſouth-

eaſtern,

eaſtern, but all the maritime Britons, all on the ſouthern coaſt of the iſland, expreſsly declared to practiſe agriculture. And not only theſe, but ſome of the inland tribes, are equally declared to have practiſed it. So groſsly erroneous is this account of Mr. Hume's! And another paſſage in Cæſar coincides with this, and two in Tacitus and Dio confirm both. Maritima pars [Britanniæ] ab iis [incolitur] qui ex Belgis tranſierant, *qui omnes* bello illato ibi remanſerunt, atque *agros colere coeperunt*. And we find the Britons under Boadicia, the Trinobantes, a Belgick tribe, and the Caſſii and Iceni, two Aboriginal ones, and running up to the north as far as Lincolnſhire at leaſt, all well acquainted with the arts of agriculture; and the more northerly of them, the Iceni, even before their reduction by the Romans. This appears with regard to the laſt from the notice given us by Tacitus concerning them, That previouſly to their inſurrection under Boadicia, and while they were meditating it, they had been ſerendis frugibus incurioſi (Ann. lib. xiv. c. 38). And it appears equally with regard to all from Boadicia's addreſs to them all, That they were obliged to cultivate their lands, γεωργειν, with heavy taxes upon them (1004).—Nor had the *ſouth-eaſtern* Britons, merely, increaſed to a great multitude. Mr. Hume had before reſtricted to the *ſouth-eaſt* of Britain, what Cæſar had applied to all the ſouthern coaſt, and even to ſome of the interiour parts of the country. And he now advances farther, and confines equally to the *ſouth-eaſt* what Cæſar has ſpoken of all the iſland. So inaccurate and careleſs is he, in merely copying the notices of Cæſar! The latter having

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divided the iſlanders more accurately than any other of his countrymen, into Belgæ and Aborigines, and aſſigned them their reſpective poſſeſſions in general; he proceeds to an account of both, and begins with this remark, That both Aborigines and Belgæ were exceedingly numerous, Hominum eſt infinita multitudo. And Diodorus accordingly calls Britain the well-peopled iſland, πολυ-ανθρωπος νησος (p. 347).—But Mr. Hume, even in the compaſs of this very extract, has fallen into two other inaccuracies. Cæſar's Hominum infinita multitudo he tranſlates into "a great multitude"; words much below the ſtandard. And this populouſneſs he aſcribes to the practice of agriculture; when the facts appear not with the ſmalleſt connexion in his author, and could not poſſibly have any at all. The practice of agriculture was confined to the more ſouthern parts of the iſland. And the populouſneſs extended over the whole of it.

—"The other inhabitants of the iſland ſtill maintained "themſelves by paſturage: they were cloathed with "ſkins of beaſts: they dwelt in huts, which they reared "in the foreſts and marſhes, with which the country "was covered: they ſhifted eaſily their habitations, "when actuated either by the hopes of plunder or the "fear of an enemy: the convenience of feeding their "cattle was even a ſufficient motive for removing their "ſeats: and being ignorant of all the refinements of "life, their wants and their poſſeſſions were equally "ſcanty and limited."

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This general account of the Britons is all one accumulation of errours, formed partly by a repetition of the preceding miſtakes, and partly by an addition of others.—The preceding have occaſioned Mr. Hume to repreſent all but the ſouth-eaſtern Britons, as maintaining themſelves by paſturage, all but the ſouth-eaſtern as cloathed with ſkins, and all but them as dwelling in huts reared among the foreſts and marſhes, eaſily ſhifting their habitations, and having few wants and ſmall poſſeſſions. And we muſt once more produce the often-cited paſſage of Cæſar, in oppoſition to this ſtrange account. Interiores plerique, ſays he, — lacte et carne vivunt, pellibuſque ſunt veſtiti. They were not all but the ſouth-eaſtern Britons, they were not even any of the more weſterly Belgæ, and they were not even ſome of the more inland Britons; they were only the generality of the Aborigines; who lived upon milk and fleſh, and cloathed themſelves in ſkins.—Nor did all but the ſouth-eaſtern Britons dwell in huts conſtructed amid the foreſts and marſhes. Strabo p. 306 informs us, that the Britons lived in cabins among the foreſts. But then he confines not the remark to all except the ſouth-eaſtern Britons. He applies it to all the Britons of the ſouth. He extends it to all the Britons of the inland country. And he carries it over all the iſland.—That all but the ſouth-eaſtern Britons eaſily ſhifted their habitations and ſeats, is alſo equally falſe. Strabo, I think, is the only author that has been quoted by others (for Mr. Hume quotes nobody here), in proof of this opinion. And I have already ſhewn, that his words carry no ſuch meaning with them. And, even if they did,

did, they are not reſtricted to the ſouth-eaſtern Britons, but are equally ſpoken of all.—Such are the many miſtakes in this ſmall extract! And there are ſtill more.

None of the Britons ſhifted their habitations and ſeats eaſily, as the hope of plunder or the fear of being plundered, or as the want of paſturage for their cattle, led them. Nor were all but the ſouth-eaſtern ignorant of every refinement of life.—Mr. Hume has erred throughout this whole paſſage, from a ſtrange indiſtinctneſs and confuſion of ideas concerning the Britons. The other inhabitants were equally with the ſouth-eaſtern divided into tribes and kingdoms. Their poſſeſſions were equally fixed and known among both. They roved not, any more than theſe, over the face of the country, ſometimes ſettling in one place and ſometimes in another. Each tribe had its diſtinct territory. And ſome of their dominions were not ſcanty and narrow. When they were alarmed by the plundering inroads of their neighbours, they drove off their cattle before the invaders. And they left their houſes. Many of them were alſo employed in looking after the herds, the droves, and the flocks of their lords, along the woods or the heaths of the country; and gradually moved from the hills to the vallies, and from the vallies to the hills, for the ſake of paſturage. But the tribe never ſhifted its poſition. And nothing but a total inattentiveneſs to what appears manifeſt upon the face of Mr. Hume's own hiſtory, the regular diviſion of the iſland into principalities and kingdoms, could have ſeduced the author into this extravagant repreſentation of the natives. The Britons did not live, as Mr. Hume deſcribes them,

them, like ſo many hords of Tartars or tribes of wild Indians. They were formed into regular kingdoms. They had aſcertained poſſeſſions. And they were governed by ſtated laws.—This account will ſerve of itſelf to demonſtrate the fallacy of the other aſſertion in Mr. Hume, That all but the ſouth-eaſtern Britons were unacquainted with every refinement of life. Where a regular frame of polity had been erected, and where property was regularly aſcertained, there many of the refinements muſt neceſſarily have been known. And, that they actually were among the Britons, I have already ſhewn in the preceding chapters. The labours of the pottery, the loom, and the furnace, were ſucceſsfully practiſed among them. The arts of the turner, the carpenter, the miner, and the architect, were ſtudied and known. And many of the ruling principles of mechanicks, many of the more myſterious truths of geometry, and various ſecrets in medicine, botany, aſtronomy, and religion, were familiar to the ſcholars of the iſland. And were ſuch men ignorant of all the refinements of life? Common ſenſe is ſhocked at the ſuggeſtion. And we need only appeal againſt it to a ſlight but remarkable fact, known to every reader, and of which we have demonſtration remaining at preſent. I ſpeak of the piles at Coway, which the Britons contrived to drive into the hard bed of the Thames, ſeveral feet under the ſurface of the water; and to fix ſo firmly in the ground, that they have continued amid all the waſte of time, the violence of floods, and the plunder of intereſt or curioſity, the admiration of every age. And, even if Mr. Hume's repreſentation of the Britons had been as

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generally true as it is falſe, his extenſion of the cenſure to all but the ſouth-eaſtern muſt have deſtroyed the whole of it. All the *ſouthern* Britons were equally Belgæ, equally engaged in trade, and equally converſant with foreigners. Cæſar indeed ſpeaks of the Cantii as the moſt humanized tribe of the iſland. But Diodorus ſays the ſame of the Britons in the moſt ſouth-weſterly parts of it. And, even according to Cæſar's account, agriculture particularly was practiſed by all the Belgæ, and alſo by ſeveral tribes of the Aborigines. The refinements of life, that I have ſhewn to have been cultivated in the iſland, were all cultivated equally by the Britons of the ſouth. And moſt of them were known to all the Britons.

—" The Britains were divided into many ſmall na-
" tions or tribes; and being a military people, whoſe
" ſole property was their ſword and their cattle, it was
" impoſſible, after they had acquired a reliſh of li-
" berty, for their princes or chieftains to eſtabliſh any
" deſpotic authority over them."

We have been told immediately before, that all but the ſouth-eaſtern Britons roved over the country, and ſhifted their habitations as the hope of plundering or the fear of being plundered led them. And yet here, in the very next words, we find all the Britons as I have before repreſented them, formed into regular kingdoms and ſubject to regular governments. Both however, as I have obſerved above, cannot be true. Regular kingdoms and governments, in an iſland eſpecially

that was infinitely populous and full of buildings, neceſſarily involve in their ideas a permanent reſidence and defined poſſeſſions. And, if the point wanted any additional proof, we might remark that Mela deſcribes Britain thus: Fert populos regeſque populorum, ſed, —ut longiùs a continenti abſint, ita, aliarum opum ignari magis, tantùm pecore ac *finibus* dites; and, bella contrahunt, ac ſe frequenter invicem infeſtant,—ſtudio *prolatandi* ea quæ poſſident (l. iii. c. 6). So inconſiſtent is Mr. Hume with himſelf, even within the compaſs of two ſucceeding ſentences!

Nor was the ſole property of the Britons their ſword and their cattle. It was not, either as they were nations or individuals. The ſoil muſt neceſſarily have been property with both. And the numerous houſes of the Britons muſt have been equally ſo with all. So vague and unmeaning is Mr. Hume's hypotheſis, all the airy ſpeculation of a mind that has taken a haſty view of the iſland, and never attended even to the conſequence of his own notices and repreſentations.—And Mr. Hume ſays further, That it was impoſſible, after the Britons had acquired a reliſh of liberty, for their chieftains to tyrannize over them. But how were the Britons to acquire this reliſh? By roving with their cattle over the country? Mr. Hume's argument plainly intimates this. And yet he cannot mean it. For this reliſh is attributed to all the Britons without exception: and the ſouth-eaſtern are expreſsly excepted from the roving. And how could the rovers obtain the reliſh, when even they, as appears from this very quotation, were in regular communities and under regular govern-

ments? But let us ſuppoſe the Britons poſſeſt of this reliſh, and then ſee the reſult. It was then impoſſible, ſays Mr. Hume, for their princes to tyrannize over them. And why was it impoſſible? Is the Genius of liberty, like ſome of the knight-errants in antient ſtory, caſed by the Gods in a coat of impenetrable armour? And has that heroick ſpirit, which bluſters and bullies in theſe our days, never crouched under the feet of our kings? For the ſafety of liberty, I wiſh the one could be imagined without credulity. And, for its credit with the world, I ſhould be glad that the other could be ſaid with truth.

—" Their governments, though monarchical, were " free (Diod. Sic. l. iv, Mela lib. iii. cap. 6, Strabo " lib. iv), as well as thoſe of all the Celtic nations; " and the common people ſeem to have enjoyed more " liberty among them (Dion Caſſius lib. 75), than " among the nations of Gaul."

This paſſage is full of miſtakes. And I ſhall endeavour to point them all out.—Mr. Hume here ſays, that the Britiſh government was monarchical. And yet in p. 2. he tells us, that it was the ſame with the Gallick, which I have ſhewed before not to have been monarchical.—Mr. Hume alſo ſays, that the Britiſh monarchies were free governments; and quotes for it Diodorus, Mela, and Strabo. All that the laſt ſays, is this. Δυναζειαι δ' εισι παρ' αυτοις, there are many monarchies among the Britons; and immediately afterwards he ſpeaks of their monarchs, των Δυναζων τινες των αυτοθι (p. 306).

(p. 306). And here is evidently not a ſingle ſyllable concerning the free nature of the Britiſh monarchies. But perhaps we may find the proper notices in Diodorus or Mela. What the former ſays is this; Βασιλεις τε και Δυναςας πολλας εχειν, that the iſland had many kings and monarchs in it (p. 347). And here therefore is as little as in Strabo, concerning the freedom of the Britons under their kings. If it is found any where, it muſt appear in Mela. And his words are theſe: Fert populos regeſque populorum, there are many communities in the country under their diſtinct princes. All theſe evidences, we ſee, prove nothing more than the monarchical nature of the governments. And the freedom enjoyed under them, for any thing that yet appears, is all an additional touch from Mr. Hume's pencil.—But perhaps Dion Caſſius, quoted afterwards for the greater freedom of the Britons than the Gauls, may at leaſt prove the poſitive point. And his words ſeem likely to do it. Among the Caledonians and Mæatæ, ſays he, δημοκρατεισθαι ως πληθει (p. 1280); the generality of their tribes are under republican governments. This is a very extraordinary aſſertion. And it deſerves to be conſidered.

The words, we ſee, are reſtricted by Dio to the Mæatæ and Caledonians, and applied by Mr. Hume to the Britons in general. But we have a teſtimony equal to Dio's, even his own, That the Britons in general were not under republican governments. They were, he expreſsly aſſures us in p. 957, under kingly. And therefore, as Mr. Hume has applied the words, there is a direct contradictorineſs in Dio, which neceſſarily de-

ſtroys his credibility. This takes off at once the whole weight of his teſtimony here. And as the one intimation, concerning the general freedom of the Britiſh monarchies, either reſts upon Dio or is totally ungrounded; and the other, concerning the greater liberty of the Britons than the Gauls, is entirely built upon him; they both fall with him to the ground.—It may be proper, however, to obſerve in addition to this remark, That Dio ſpeaks not of the Britons enjoying a greater ſhare of liberty under their kings, as Mr. Hume interprets him. And, even if his account had not been ſuperſeded by himſelf in another place, it would not prove the point for which it is adduced by Mr. Hume. It would not ſhew the freedom of the monarchical government in Britain. It would only prove the exiſtence of a popular one. And conſequently, even if its teſtimony was of any moment, it would be in direct oppoſition to Mr. Hume's repreſentation.—But Dio's account is not only contradicted by himſelf, but by every other writer. As applied by Mr. Hume to the whole iſland, it is encountered equally by the very Diodorus, Mela, and Strabo, whom Mr. Hume quotes immediately before, and by Cæſar (p. 74, 92, &c.), Tacitus (Agric. Vit. c. 15), and others. Each of theſe is an authority fully equal to Dio's. And the concurrence of all forms an irreſiſtible weight of evidence againſt him. And, even in their natural ſignification, and as applied only to the generality of the Picts, the words of Dio are directly confronted by a paſſage in Martial; which of itſelf is perhaps not an inferiour teſtimony to Dio's, and,

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by its coincidence with all the other accounts of the iſland, becomes greatly ſuperiour to it:

Turpes, humiles, ſuppliceſque,
Pictorum ſola baſiate regum.

Lib. x. E. 72.

I have gone over this extract from Mr. Hume the more circumſtantially, in order fully to open the extravagance of it. I have ſhewn in the body of this work, that the monarchies of Britain were founded on a regular ſyſtem of liberty. And ſo far I have aſſerted the intereſts of freedom and of man. But the ſpirit of the times, if not properly checked, would carry us into abſurdities that diſgrace the cauſe. We ſhould ſee the Tartuffes of liberty, like thoſe of religion formerly, throwing a diſcredit over it by their follies. And antient hiſtory would be gradually dreſt up in the cropt hair, the cloak, and the band of political puritaniſm. And there is the more reaſon for this apprehenſion, when we ſee ſo philoſophical a ſpirit as Mr. Hume's carried away by the civil fanaticiſm of the times, and ſacrificing truth at the ſhrine of freedom.

P. 3—4. "Each ſtate was divided into factions with-
"in itſelf (Tacit. Agric.): it was agitated with emula-
"tion towards the neighbouring ſtates: and while the
"arts of peace were yet unknown, wars were the chief
"occupation, and formed the chief object of ambition
"among the people."

All this implies a fixedneſs of poſſeſſion and dominion among the Britons, which very ill agrees with the account before of their roving over the face of the iſland. But indeed all this deſcription of our forefathers, ſhort and ſcanty as it is, is little more than a maſs of groſs contradictions. And the lines are like the Britiſh kingdoms in the preſent extract, almoſt each of them in a ſtate of hoſtility with its neighbour.—But that each kingdom was divided into factions within itſelf, is not true, as deduced from the work here quoted for it, Tacitus's Life of Agricola. That indeed proves juſt the reverſe. *Olim*, ſays Tacitus, regibus parebant, *nunc* per principes factionibus et ſtudiis trahuntur (c. 12).—And, that the arts of peace were not unknown to the Britons, is plain from Mr. Hume's own words, which allow tillage and agriculture to have been known to the ſouth-eaſtern natives; and is ſtill plainer from Cæſar's, which ſhew them to have been familiar to all the ſouthern and ſome of the inland Britons. And in the preſent work I have even ſhewn all the mechanical arts to have been practiſed in every part of the iſland.

So groſsly inaccurate as Mr. Hume is in his general repreſentation of the civil ſtate of the Britons, we cannot expect him to be commonly preciſe with regard to their geographical diviſions. If he has erred in a plain path and at noon-day, he muſt be ſure to deviate upon a winding one and in the ſhade of the evening. And

to

to criticize upon theſe miſtakes would perhaps be cruel; like arraigning a perſon for the breach of laws with which he was never acquainted. I ſhall therefore paſs them all over. Only let me obſerve, that there is a capital abſurdity both in Mr. Carte's and Mr. Hume's hiſtories, which appears manifeſt upon the face of them. And that is the relating the military tranſactions of the iſland, without any previous information concerning the names, the poſition, and the power of the reſpective tribes in it. In this mode of writing hiſtory, the reader is introduced into a ſort of fairy land, where beings ariſe with whom he has no previous acquaintance, and kingdoms are mentioned of which we have never yet heard the exiſtence. Thus the Trinobantes are mentioned for the firſt time in p. 6 of the one, and the Iceni and Cattivellauni in p. 27 of the other, without one note of their ſituation and ſtrength. And the reader is left entirely in the dark, whether they reſided in Kent or Cornwall, in Middleſex or Cathneſs.

I HAVE here laid open a variety of errours within the compaſs only of two or three pages in Mr. Hume's hiſtory. And I may ſubjoin one remark to the whole, That his in-accuracy and in-attention have made him give us ſcarcely any real information, concerning the interiour ſtate of the iſland, even for the whole of the Roman period. His haſtineſs to diſcharge himſelf of this

part of his work, has increaſed and multiplied his miſtakes. And yet it has in all probability preſerved him from more; as upon a rough road a briſk pace is frequently ſafer for a fine horſe, than a ſlow one.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

N° II.

I Have here ſubjoined what I have frequently referred to in the work, the Itinerary of Ricardus Corinenſis. Such a curioſity ought no longer to be locked up in the few copies of Dr. Stukeley's comment, or the fewer of Mr. Bertram's original. To this I have added the parallel parts of Antonine's, that the one may reflect a light on the other. And I have annexed to the whole the modern places correſpondent to each antient name, as they are aſſigned by Gale, Horſeley, and Stukeley.

DIA-

DIAPHRAGMATA[1]

ITER I.

A RHUTIPI VIA DUCTA EST GUETHELINGA DICTA USQUE IN SEGONTIUM PER M. P. 324. PLUS MINUS SIC.

			Antoninus
			Iter 2 inverted
	CANTIOPOLIS quæ et DUROVERNO	m. p. 10	Duroverno 12
Iter 15 of Richard			
Durelevum	DUROSEVO —	12	Durolevo 12
Durobrovæ	DUROPROVIS —	25[2]	Durobrovis 16
	DEINDE —	m. p. 27	
			Iter 3 inverted from Durobrovis to
	TRANSIS THAMESIN INTRASQUE PROVINCIAM FLAVIAM ET CIVITATEM LONDINIUM AUGUSTAM		Londinium 27
Dr. Stukeley's Copy			Iter 2 inv.
Sulloniagis	SULO MAGO	m. p. 9	Sulloniacis 12
	VEROLAMIO MUNICIPIO[3]	12	Verolamio 9
	FORO DIANÆ	12	Durocobrivis 12
	MAGIO VINIO —	12	Magiovinto 12
	LACTORODO —	12	Lactodoro 17

[1] The Itinera are so called from their similitude to the animal midriff, which passes through the body from side to side (Stukeley).

[2] This number appears from the distances preceding and following to be faulty. Antonine's therefore is the right one.

[3] In this and one or two other places I have omitted the notices concerning martyrs, the mere interpolations of the monk.

Canter-

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Canterbury	Canterbury	Canterbury
Lenham	Milton	Sittingburne
Rocheſter	Rocheſter	Rocheſter
London	London	London
Shenley near Brockley Hills	Brockley Hills	Edgeware near Brockley Hills
Verulam	Verulam	Verulam
Hertford	Dunſtable	Market-ſtreet near Dunſtable
Dunſtable	Ferny Stratford	Dunſtable
Stony Stratford	Towceſter	Stony Stratford

Iter 18 inv.		Antoninus.
Iſannavaria	ISANTA VARIA — 12	Bennavenna (Iter 6. Iſanavatia) 12
		Iter 6
Tripontio 12	TRIPONTIO — 12	Tripontio 12
Benonnis 11	BENONIS — — 9	Venponis 9
	HIC BISECATUR VIA; ALTERUTERUMQUE EJUS BRACHIUM LINDUM USQUE [1], ALTRUM VERSUS VIRICONIUM, PROTENDITUR SIC.	
Iter 18 inv.		Iter 2 inv.
Manduesuedo 12	MANDUESSEDO m. p. 12	Manduessedo 12
Etoceto 16	ETOCETO — 13	Etoceto 16
	PENNOCRUCIO — 12	Pennocrucio 12
	UXACONIA — 12	Uxacona 12
	VIRIOCONIO — 11	Urioconio 11
		—— —— ——
		—— —— ——
	BANCHORIO — 26	Bovium .....
	DEVA COLONIA — 10	Deva Leg. 20 Vict. 10

[1] This road, the eaſtern branch of the Foſſeway, the ſecond Iter of Antonine purſues.

Caſtle

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Caſtle Dykes near Wedon	Near Daventry	Towceſter
Dowbridge near Lilburne	Bugby	Dowbridge or Showel
High Croſs or Claycheſter	Claycheſter	Claycheſter or High Croſs
Manceſter	Manceſter	Manceſter
Wall near Litchfield	Wall	Wall
Stretton near Penkridge	Near the river Penk	Penkridge
Oken-yate	Near Sheriff-Hales	Oken-yate
Wroxeter	Wroxeter	Wroxeter
Banchor	Near Stretton in Cheſhire	Banchor
Cheſter	Cheſter	Cheſter

FINES

FINES FLAVIÆ ET SECUNDÆ			Antoninus	
			Iter 11 inv.	
VARIS	—	m. p. 30	Varis	32
CONOVIO		20	Conovio	19
SEGUNTIO	—	[x] 24	Segontio	24

[x] The ſum total at the end is juſt ten more than the number prefixed, the latter being three hundred and twenty-four and the former three hundred and thirty-four. The nine or ten additional miles, in the faulty number annexed to Duroprovis, account for the difference.

Bodvary

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Bodvary	Bodvary	Bodvary
Caer Rhun	Caer Rhun	Caer Rhun
Caer Segont near Caernarvon	Caer Segont	Caer Segont

ITER

FINES FLAVIÆ ET SECUNDÆ			Antoninus	
			Iter 11 inv.	
VARIS	—	m. p. 30	Varis	32
CONOVIO		20	Conovio	19
SEGUNTIO	—	[x] 24	Segontio	24

[x] The ſum total at the end is juſt ten more than the number prefixed, the latter being three hundred and twenty-four and the former three hundred and thirty-four. The nine or ten additional miles, in the faulty number annexed to Duroprovis, account for the difference.

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Bodvary	Bodvary	Bodvary
Caer Rhun	Caer Rhun	Caer Rhun
Caer Segont near Caernarvon	Caer Segont	Caer Segont

ITER

ITER II.			Antoninus
A SEGUNTIO VIRIOCONIUM USQUE m. p. 73, SIC.			
HERIRI MONTE	m. p.	25	Iter 2.
MEDIOLANO	—	25	Mediolano . . . .
RUTUNIO	—	12	Rutunio 12
VIRIOCONIO	—	11	Virioconio 11

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
		Raranvaur Hill by Bala in Merionethſhire
Meivod, North-Wales	Draiton, Shropſhire	Meivod, Montgomeryſhire
Rowton Caſtle	Near Wem	Rowton
Wroxeter	Wroxeter	Wroxeter

ITER III.		Antoninus	
A LONDINIO LINDUM COLONIAM USQUE, SIC.			
			Iter 9 inv.
Durosito —	12	Durolitum	15
Cæsaro Mago —	16	Cæsaromago	16
Canonio —	15	Canonia	12
Camaloduno Colonia	9	Camaloduno	9
IBI ERAT TEMPLUM CLAUDII, ARX TRIUMPHALIS, ET IMAGO VICTORIÆ DEÆ [1].			
Ad Sturium Amnem	m. p. 6	Ad Anſam	6
ET FINIBUS TRINOBANTUM CENIMANNOS ADVENIS.			
Combretonio	m. p. 15	Combretonio	15
Sito Mago —	22	Sitomago	22
Venta Cenom. —	23	Venta Icenorum	31

[1] This Note ſeems to have been copied by Richard from ſome account, that was previous to the deſtruction of Camulodunum by Boadicia.

Leighton-

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Leighton-ſtone	Leighton-ſtone	Rumford
Writtle or Witham	Near Chelmsford	Chelmsford
Little Canfield	Fambridge	Kelvedon, Eſſex
Walden	Malden	Colcheſter
Barklow or near Haverill	Witham	Stretford-ſtreet, Suffolk
Brettenham	Stretford	Bretenham, Bradfield Combuſt, Suffolk
Thetford or Wulpitt	Wulpitt	Thetford, Norfolk
Caſter near Norwich	Caſter	Caſter

			Antoninus Iter 5
	Icianis[z] — m. p. 27		Icianos ....
	Camborico Colonia	20	Camborico 35
Iter 17. Durolisponte	Durali Ponte —	20	Duroliponte 25
Durnomago m. p. 30	Durno Mago —	20	Durobrovis 35
Corisennis 30	Isinnis —	20	Causennis 30
Lindo 30	Lindo —	20	Lindo 26

[z] Several little differences occur in the copies which were publisfhed by Dr. Stukeley and Mr. Bertram, which I shall regularly note. And this is one. Icianos has only a vacancy in Bertram, but is inserted in Stukeley. And the latter is evidently right.

Ickburrow

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Ickburrow	Chesterford	Ixworth, Icklingham
Near Cambridge	Icklingham	Chesterford, Cambridgeshire
Godmanchester	Cambridge	Godmanchester
Brig Casterton	Caster by Peterborough	Caster
Nottingham	Ancaster	Stanfield by Bourn, Lincolnshire
Lincoln	Lincoln	Lincoln

	ITER IV.	Antoninus.
	A LINDO AD VALLUM USQUE, SIC.	
		Iter 5
	ARGOLICO — m. p. 14	Segelocum (Iter 8 Agelocum) 14
	DANO — m. p. 20	Danum 21
	IBI INTRAS MAXIMAM CÆSARIENSEM.	
Iter 18 Legolium Iter 5 inv. and Iter . . from York	LEGOTIO — m. p. 16	Legeolium (Iter 8. Legecium) 16
	EBURACO MUNICIP. OLIM COLONIA SEXTA [1] 21	Eburacum 21
Catarractoni 40	ISURIO — 16	Isubrigantum 17
	CATARRACTONI 24	Catarractoni 24
	AD TISAM — 10	—— —— ——
		Iter 1 inv.
	VINOVIO — 19	Vinovia 22
	EPIACO — 19	—— —— ——
	AD MURUM — 9	—— —— ——

[1] This Note has been interpolated by Richard.

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Littleburrow	Littleburrow	Littleburrow
Doncaſter	Doncaſter	Doncaſter
Caſtleford	Caſtleford	Caſtleford
York	York	York
Aldborough	Aldborough	Aldborough
Cattarick	Cattarick	Cattarick
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Pierce Bridge, Ovynford
Bincheſter	Bincheſter	Bincheſter
—— —— ——	Hexham	Cheſter in the Street
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Newcaſtle

TRANS MURUM INTRAS VALENTIAM	Antoninus
ALAUNA AMNE m. p. 25	—— —— ——
TUÆDA FLUMINE 30	—— —— ——
AD VALLUM m. p. [1] 70	—— —— ——

[1] Dr. Stukeley gives us the numerals which Mr. Bertram has omitted.

Alnwick

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
		Alnwick, Northumberland
		Berwick on Tweed
		Falkirk

ITER

	ITER V.			Antoninus	
	A LIMITE PRÆTURIAM USQUE, SIC.				
Dr. Stukeley's Copy Corium	CURIA	—	m. p. . . .	———	———
	AD FINES [1]		m. p. . . .	———	———
				Iter I.	
	BREMENIO		m. p. . . .	Bramenium	
	CORSTOPLIO	—	20	Corſtopitum	20
	VINDOMORA	—	9	Vindomora	9
	VINDOVIO	—	19	Vinovia	19
	CATARRACTONI	—	22	Catarractoni	22
	EBORACO	—	40	Iſurium & Eboracum	41
	DERVENTIONE	—	7	Derventio	7
	DELGOVICIA	—	13	Delgovitia	13
	PRETURIO	—	25	Prætorium	25

[1] Dr. Stukeley by a ſtrange miſtake reads Ad Tines, and therefore fixes the ſtation upon the North-Tyne. It was upon the limits of the Gadenian and Ottadinian territories, and ſomewhere, I ſuppoſe, on the banks of the Tweed in Tweedale.

Roman-

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
— — —	— — —	Romanhow, Corſtonlaw
— — —	— — —	Rocheſter on Tyne
Brampton	Riecheſter	Riecheſter
Corbridge	Corbridge	Corbridge
Dolande	Ebcheſter	Ebcheſter
Bincheſter	Bincheſter	Bincheſter
Cattarick	Cattarick	Cattarick
York	York	York
Aldby on the Derwent	On the Derwent	Stanford Bridge, Yorkſhire
Wigton	Wigton	Wigton
Patrington	Hebberſtow Fields or Broughton	Patrinton

ITER VI.		Antoninus
AB EBURACO DEVAM USQUE, SIC.		
		Iter 2.
CALCARIA —	m. p. 9	Calcaria 9
CAMBODUNO —	22	Camboduno 20
MANCUNIO —	18	Manucio 18
FINIBUS MAXIMÆ ET FLAVIÆ	m. p. 18	—— —— ——
CONDATE —	18	Condate 18
DEVA — —	18	Deva Leg. 20. Vict. 20

Tadcaſter

Gale	Horseley	Stukeley
Tadcaſter	Tadcaſter	Tadcaſter
Almondbury	Near Gretland	Almondbury
Mancheſter	Man-caſtle near Mancheſter	Man-caſtle
		Stretford on Merſey
Congleton	Near Northwich	Northwich
Cheſter	Cheſter	Cheſter

	ITER VII.	Antoninus
	A PORTU SISTUNTIORUM EBORACUM USQUE, SIC.	— — —
	RERIGONIO — m. p. 23	— — —
	AD ALPES PENINOS 8	— — —
	ALICANA — 10	— — —
Dr. S. Isurio — 19	ISURIO — 18	— — —
	EBORACO — 16	— — —

The

GALÆ	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	The mouth of the Lune
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Burton on Lune, or Ribcheſter
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Pendleton, Pendlebury, Lancaſhire
—— —— ——	Ilkley	Skipton in Craven
Aldborough	Aldborough	Aldborough
York	York	York

ITER VIII.

AB EBORACO LUGUVALIUM USQUE, SIC.

Dr. Stukeley's Copy		CATARRACTONI m. p. 40		Antoninus Iter 2 inv.	
Lataris	18	LATARIS —	16	Lavatris	16
Vataris	13	VATARIS —	16	Verteris	14
Brocavonacis	20	BROCAVONACIS —	18	Brovonacis	13
Voreda	13	VORREDA [1] —	[1] 18	Voreda	13
Luguvalia	13	LUGUVALIA —	[1] 18	Luguvallio	14

[1] Iter 10 inv. from Brocavonacis to Luguballia 22.

Catta

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Catarick	Catarick	Catarick
Bowes	Bowes	Bowes
Brough under Stanmore	Brough	Brough
Kendal	Kirby Thure	Browham
Penrith	Old Penrith	Caſtle Voran
Old Carliſle	Carliſle	Carliſle

ITER IX.		Antoninus
A LUGUBALLIO PTOROTONIM USQUE, SIC.		
Trimontio —	m. p. . . .	— — —
Gadanica —	m. p. . . .	— — —
Corio —	m. p. . . .	— — —
Ad Vallum	m. p. . . .	— — —
INCIPIT VESPASIANA		
Alauna —	m. p. 12	— — —
Lindo —	9	— — —
Victoria —	9	— — —
Ad Hiernam —	9	— — —
Orrea —	14	— — —
Ad Tavum —	19	— — —
Ad Æsicam —	23	— — —
Ad Tinam —	8	— — —
Devana —	23	— — —
Ad Itunam —	24	— — —

Gale	Horseley	Stukeley
— — —	— — —	Cannaby
— — —	— — —	Colecester, or Peebles
— — —	— — —	Corsford by Lanerk
— — —	— — —	Falkirk
— — —	— — —	Sterling on Alon river
— — —	— — —	Dunblane
— — —	— — —	Kinkel upon Erne
— — —	— — —	Perth, Airdoch
— — —	— — —	Perth, Dunkeld, St. Johnston
— — —	— — —	Brumchester on Tay frith
— — —	— — —	Brechin on S. Esk river
— — —	— — —	Eshlie on N. Esk
— — —	— — —	Aberdeen
— — —	— — —	Fyvie

		Antoninus.		
Ad Montem Grampium	m. p. . . .	—	—	—
Ad Selinam	m. p. . . .	—	—	—
Tuessis	— 19	—	—	—
Ptorotone	m. p. [1] 27	—	—	—

[1] The vacancy, which appears here in Bertram's edition, is filled up with theſe numerals by Dr. Stukeley.

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
— — —	— — —	— — —
— — —	— — —	On Dovern river
— — —	Nairne	Rothes on the Spay
— — —	Inverneſs	Inverneſs

ITER X.

AB ULTIMA PRORO-TONE PER MEDIAM INSULÆ ISCA DAM-NONORUM USQUE, SIC.

Dr. Stukeley's Copy			Antoninus		
Varis 9	Varis —	m. p. 8	—	—	—
	Ad Tuessim —	18	—	—	—
Dr. Stukeley's Copy	Tamea —	29	—	—	—
— — 20	— —	m. p. 21	—	—	—
	In Medio —	9	—	—	—
	Orrea —	9	—	—	—
	Victoria —	18	—	—	—
Iter 9 Ad Vallum 30	Ad Vallum —	32	—	—	—
	Luguballia —	80	—	—	—
	Brocavonacis —	22	—	—	—
Dr. Stukeley's Copy	Ad Alaunam	m. p. . . .	—	—	—
Coccio 66	Coccio —	m. p. . . .	Iter 10 Coccio		
	Mancunio —	18	Mancunio	17	
	Condate —	23	Condate	18	

Nairne

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
— — —	— — —	Nairne [1]
— — —	— — —	Ruthvan on Spay
— — —	About Dunkeld or Blair	Brumcheſter or Blair
— — —	— — —	Spittle in Glenſhire
— — —	— — —	Strumnie on Erie river
— — —	Orrock in Fife	Perth, Dunkeld, St. Johnſton
— — —	Abernethy	Perth, Airdoch
— — —	— — —	Falkirk
Carliſle	Carliſle	Carliſle
Kendal	Kirby Thure	Browham
— — —	— — —	Lancaſter
Ribcheſter	Ribcheſter	Burton by Lancaſter
Manchester	Man-caſtle by Manchester	Man-caſtle
Congleton	Near Northwich	Northwich

[1] Farr on Nairne river.

			Antoninus		
	MEDIOLANO —	18	Mediolano		18
	ETOCETO —	m. p. . . .	—	—	—
	BREMENIUM [1] —	. . . .	—	—	—
	SALINIS —	m. p. . . .	—	—	—
	BRANNOGENIUM [1]	. . . .	—	—	—
			Iter 3.		
	GLEBON COLONIA	m. p. . . .	Clevo		. . . . .
	CORINO —	14	Durocornovio		14
	AQUAS SOLIS	m. p. . . .	—	—	—
	AD AQUAS —	18	—	—	—
Dr. S.	AD UXELLAM AMNEM				
Ad Uxellam . . .		m. p. . . .	—	—	—
— — —					
Iſca — . . .	ISCA —	m. p. . . .	—	—	—

[1] The names of theſe two ſtations are taken from Dr. Stukeley. Only blanks appear in Bertram.

Meivod

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Meivod	Near Draiton	Myvod
Wall near Litchfield	Wall	Wall
— — —	— — —	Birmingham
— — —	— — —	Droitwich in Worceſterſhire
— — —	Ludlow	Worceſter
Glouceſter	Glouceſter	Glouceſter
Cirenceſter	Cirenceſter	Cirenceſter
Bath	Bath	Bath
— — —	— — —	Wells
— — —	Exeter	Barton on the Foſs, Somerſetſhire
Exeter	Chiſelborough	Exeter

	ITER XI.	Antoninus
	AB AQUIS, PER VIAM JULIAM, MENAPIAM USQUE, SIC.	
		Iter 14 inv.
	AD ABONAM — m. p. 6	Trajectus [1]6
	AD SABRINAM — 6	— — —
	UNDE TRAJECTU INTRAS IN BRITTANIAM SECUNDAM ET	
Dr. Stukeley's Copy	STATIONEM TTAJECTUM m. p. 3	Abone [1]9
Venta Sil. 9	VENTA SILURUM — 8	Venta Silurum 9
Iſca 9	ISCA COLONIA — 9	Iſca 9
Tibia 7	TIBIA AMNE — m. p. 8	— — —
		Iter 12 inv.
	BOVIO — 20	Nido [2]15
	NIDO — 15	Bomio [2]15
	LEUCARO — 15	Leucaro 15
	AD VIGESSIMUM — 20	— — —
	AD MENAPIAM — 19	— — —
	AB HAC URBE PER 30 m. p. NAVIGAS IN HYBERNIAM.	

[1] Dr. Gale ſuppoſes Abone and Trajectus to be tranſpoſed. Mr. Horſeley oppoſes the ſuppoſition. But the order of Richard's Iter ſhews the former to be right.

[2] Dr. Gale again ſuppoſes a tranſpoſition; and the order of Richard's Iter again confirms his notion.

Hanham

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Hanham	Aunſbury	Olland naar Rainſham
— — —	— — —	Auſt on Severne
Oldbury	Henham	Tydenham or Chepſtow
Caer Gwent	Caer Gwent	Caer Gwent
Caerleon	Caerleon	Caerleon
— — —	— — —	Caerdiff
Boverton	Near Axbridge	Boverton
Neath	Near Portbury	Neath
Logher	Near Glaſſonbury	Logher
— — —	— — —	Narbath Caſtle
— — —	— — —	St. David's

ITER XII.			Antoninus	
AB AQUIS LONDINIUM USQUE, SIC.				
			Iter 14	
VERLUCIONE	m. p.	15	Verlucione	15
CUNETIONE	—	20	Cunetione	20
SPINIS	—	15	Spinis	15
CALLEBA ATTREBATUM		15	Calleva	15
BIBRACTE	—	20	— —	—
LONDINIO	—	20	— —	—

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Weſtbury	Near Leckham	Lacock on Avon, Wilts
Kennet	Marlborough	Marlborough
Spene	Spene	Spene
Henley	Silcheſter	Wallingford
		Bray
London	London	London

ITER XIII.

AB ISCA URICONIUM USQUE, SIC.

Dr. Stukeley's Copy			Antoninus.	
			Iter 12	
Bultro	9	BULTRO — m. p. 8	Burrio	9
		GOBANNIO — 12	Gobannio1	12
		MAGNA — 23	Magnis	22
		BRANOGENIO — 23	Bravinio	24
Urioconio	28	URIOCONIO — 27	Urioconio	27

Brubege

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Brubege	Uſk	Caerphylli
Aber-gavenny	Aber-gavenny	Aber-gavenny
Old Radnor	Kencheſter	Old Radnor
Ruſhbury	Ludlow	Worceſter
Wroxeter	Wroxeter	Wroxeter

ITER XIV.

AB ISCA PER GLEBON LINDUM USQUE, SIC.

		Antoninus
		Iter 13.
Iter 13. Bultro	BALLIO — m. p. 8	Burrio 9
	BLESTIO — 12	Bleſtio 11
	SARICONIO — 11	Ariconio 11
	GLEBON COLONIA — 15	Clevo 15
	AD ANTONAM — 15	— — —
	ALAUNA — 15	— — —
	PRÆSIDIUM [1] ———	— — —
		Iter 8 inv.
	VENNONIS — 12	Vennonis
	RATIS CORION — 12	Ratis 12
	VENROMENTO — 12	Vernometo 22
	MARGIDUNO — 12	Margiduno 12
		Iter 6.
Bertram's Copy thus, Croco Colana Lindum 12	AD PONTEM — 12	Ad Pontem 7
	CROCO COLANA — [2] 7	Croco-colana 7
	LINDUM — 12	Lindo 12

[1] This name is taken from Dr. S.'s Copy.
[2] This number is equally from the Dr's. Copy.

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Brubege	Uſk	Caerphylli Caſtle
Old Town	Monmouth	Old Town
Kencheſter	Near Roſſe	Kencheſter
Glouceſter	Glouceſter	Glouceſter
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Eveſham, Worceſterſhire
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Alceſter, Warwickſhire
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Warwick
Claycheſter	Claycheſter	Claycheſter or High Croſs
Leiceſter	Leiceſter	Leiceſter
Charnley	Near Willoughby	Coſington on Soar, Leiceſterſhire
Willoughby	Near Eaſt Bridgeford	Willoughby, Nottinghamſhire
Eaſt Bridgeford	Near Southwell	Bridgeford
Collingham	Brugh near Collingham	Collingham
Lincoln	Lincoln	Lincoln

ITER XV.		Antoninus	
A LONDINIO PER CLAUSENTUM IN LONDINIUM, SIC.			
		Iter 7 inv.	
CALEBA — m. p.	44	Caleba	44
		Iter 12.	
VINDOMI —	15	Vindomi	15
VENTA BELGARUM	21	Venta B.	21
AD LAPIDEM —	6	—— —— ——	
		Iter 7 inv.	
CLAUSENTO —	4	Clauſento	10
PORTU MAGNO —	10	—— —— ——	
REGNO —	10	Regno	20
AD DECIMUM —	10	—— —— ——	
ANDERIDA PORTU m. p. [1]	10	—— —— ——	
AD LEMANUM m. p.	25	—— —— ——	
LEMANIANO PORTU	10	—— —— ——	
DUBRIS —	10	—— —— ——	

[1] Theſe numerals are taken from Stukeley. A large vacuity is left for them in Bertram.

Henly

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Henley	Silcheſter	Wallingford
Sylcheſter	Farnham	Silcheſter
Wincheſter	Wincheſter	Wincheſter
— — —	— — —	Stoneham, Hants
Southampton	Old Southampton	Southampton
— — —	Pool	Portcheſter
Ringwood	Chicheſter	Chicheſter
— — —	— — —	Arundel, Suſſex
— — —	— — —	Newhaven, Suſſex
Lyme	Lyme	Old Romney
— — —	— — —	Lyme
Dover	Dover	Dover

		Antoninus	
Rhutupis Colonia	10	— —	—
Regulbio —	10	— —	—
Contiopoli — m. p.	10	— —	—
Durelevo —	18	— —	—
Mado —	12	— —	—
		Iter 2 inv.	
Vagnaca —	18	Vagniacis	
Novio Mago —	18	Noviomago	18
Londinio —	15	Londinio	10

Rich-

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Richborough	Richborough	Richborough
— — —	— — —	Reculver
Canterbury	Canterbury	Canterbury
Lenham	Milton	Sittingburne
— — —	— — —	Maidſtone
Maidſtone	Northfleet	Sevenoke
Woodcote near Croydon	Woodcote	Croydon
London	London	London

ITER XVI.

A LONDINIO CENIAM USQUE, SIC

			Antoninus	
			Iter 6 inv.	
Iter 15.		Venta Belgarum	Venta B.	66
Venta B.	80	m. p. 90	Iter 12.	
		Brige — 11	Brige	11
		Sorbioduno — 8	Sorvioduno	9
		Venta Geladia — 12	Vindocladia	13
		Durnovaria — 9	Durnovaria	8
		Moriduno — 33	Muriduno	36
		Isca Damnon. — 15	Sca Dumnunniorum	15
		— — —	— — —	
		Durio Amne m. p. . . .	— — —	
		Tamara — m. p. . . .	— — —	
		Voluba — m. p. . . .	— — —	
		Cenia — m. p. . . .	— — —	

Win-

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Wincheſter	Wincheſter	Wincheſter
Broughton	Broughton	Broughton
Old Sarum	Old Sarum	Old Sarum
Winburne	Near Cranburne	Winburne
Dorcheſter	Dorcheſter	Dorcheſter
Seaton	Near Eggerton	Seaton
Exeter	Near Chiſelborough	Exeter
— — —	— — —	— — —
— — —	— — —	Aſhburton, Devonſhire
— — —	— — —	By Saltaſh
— — —	— — —	Grampound
— — —	— — —	Tregeney, Falmouth

	ITER XVII.	Antoninus
	AB ANDERIDA [EBORACUM] USQUE, SIC.	
	SYLVA ANDERIDA — m. p. . . .	— — —
Iter 15.		Iter 2 inv.
Novio Mago —	NOVIO MAGO m. p. . . .	Noviomago . . .
Londinio 15	LONDINIO — m. p. 15	Londinio 10
	AD FINES — m. p. [1] 30	— — —
Iter 3.		Iter 5.
Durali Ponte —	DUROLISPONTE m. p. . . .	Duroliponte . . .
Durnomago m. p. 20	DURNOMAGO — m. p. 30	Durobrovis 35
Isinnis 20	CORISENNIS — m. p. 30	Causennis 30
Lindo 20	LINDO — 30	Lindo 26
	IN MEDIO — 15	— — —
	AD ABUM — 15	— — —
	UNDE TRANSIS IN MAXIMAM.	
Iter 5. from Preturium	AD PETUARIAM m. p. 6	— — —
Delgovitia 25	DEINDE	
Derventio 13		
Eburacum 7	EBORACO UT SUPRA m. p. 46	— — —
45		

[1] The numerals appear in Stukeley only.

The

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
— — —	— — —	The Wild of Suſſex near Newhaven
Woodcote	Woodcote	Croydon
London	London	London
— — —	— — —	Roiſton, Hertfordſhire
Godmancheſter	Cambridge	Godmancheſter
Brig Caſterton	Caſter	Caſter
Nottingham	Ancaſter	Stanfield by Bourn, Lincolnſhire
Lincoln	Lincoln	Lincoln
— — —	— — —	Kirkton in Lindſey
— — =	— — —	Wintringham on the Humber
— — —	Perhaps Brongh in Yorkſhire	Brough
York	York	York

ITER

ITER XVIII.

AB EBORACO PER MEDIUM INSULÆ CLAUSENTUM USQUE, SIC

	LEGEOLIO	— m. p. 21	—	—	—
	AD FINES	— 18	—	—	—
	—	— m. p. 16	—	—	—
Dr. S. more rightly perhaps	—	— m. p. 16	—	—	—
——— 10	—	— —	—	—	—
——— 10					
Derventione 16	DERVENTIONE	m. p. 16	—	—	—
	AD TRIVONAM	— 12	—	—	—
Iter 1 inv. From Etocetum	ETOCETO	— 12	—	—	—
Manduessedo 13	MANDUESUEDO	— 16	Iter 2 from Etocetum Manduessedo		16
Benonis 12	BENONNIS	— 12	Venonis		12
			Iter 6 inv.		
Tripontio 9	TRIPONTIO	— 12	Tripontio		9
Isanta Varia 12	ISANNAVARIA	— 12	Isannavatia		12
	BRINAVIS	— 12	—	—	—
	ÆLIA CASTRA	— 16	—	—	—
	DOROCINA	— 15	—	—	—
	TAMESI	— 6	—	—	—
	VINDOMI	— 15	—	—	—
	CLAUSENTO	— 46	—	—	—

Gale	Horseley	Stukeley
Caſtleford	Caſtleford	Caſtleford
— — —	— — —	Graveſborough near Rotherham
— — —	— — —	Cheſterfield, Derbyſhire
— — —	— — —	Alfreton
— — —	— — —	— — —
— — —	— — —	Little Cheſter by Derby
— — —	— — —	Burton upon Trent
Wall near Litchfield	Wall	Wall
Manceter	Manceter	Manceter
Claycheſter	Claycheſter	Claycheſter
Dowbridge near Lilburne	Bugby	Dowbridge
Caſtle Dykes near Wedon	Near Daventry	Towceſter
— — —	— — —	Banbury, Oxfordſhire
— — —	— — —	Alceſter, Oxfordſhire
— — —	— — —	Dorcheſter, Oxfordſhire
— — —	— — —	Stretley on Thames
Silcheſter	Farnham	Silcheſter
Southampton	Old Southampton	Southampton

THE END OF VOLUME THE SECOND.

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